

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART XXIV

LOBEL, ROBERTS, TURNER, BARNES

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS
D'ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES, AND WITH THE
ASSISTANCE, ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DE LA PHILOSOPHIE
ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, OF A
SUBVENTION FROM U.N.E.S.C.O.

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART XXIV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

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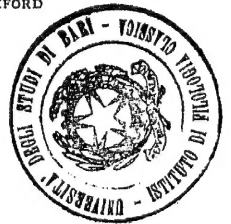
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EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.1

1957

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GRAECO-ROMAN MEMOIRS, NO. 35

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD, BY CHARLES BATEY
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W. 1
ALSO SOLD BY BERNARD QUARITCH, 11 GRAYTON ST., NEW BOND ST., W. 1;
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., 38 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C. 1;
GEORGE SALBY, 65 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C. 1

PREFACE

FOR this Part Mr. Lobel has marshalled the tattered and difficult fragments, both of text and scholarly commentary, of Laconian poetry published under nos. 2387-2397 and a newly identified scrap of Callimachus (2398). The transcription and account of the Terence leaves (2401) are the work of Mr. C. H. Roberts. Professor Otto Skutsch of University College, London, has given valuable assistance in their critical assessment. Turner has taken for his share the new theological texts 2383-2386, two new prose texts, 2399 and 2400, the known texts of Aristotle and Aeschines 2402-2404, and the house plan 2406. The scholia minora found in 2405 and all the documents are the work of the Rev. Dr. John Barns.

Thanks are due to Dr. P. Walcot, of the University College of Wales, Cardiff, for compiling the index to Mr. Lobel's section; to U.N.E.S.C.O. for a grant of five hundred dollars towards the cost of publishing this very expensive work; and to the staff of the Oxford University Press for their care in its production.

E. G. TURNER
T. C. SKEAT
*Joint Editors of the
Gracco-Roman Memoirs*

August 1957

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TEXT REPRINTED IN BELGIUM
1964
JOS. ADAM - BRUSSELS - BELGIUM

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION
AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed, in the case of the new literary texts, edited by Mr. Lobel, slightly below the line. Elsewhere, throughout, the more usual practice is followed, the dots being printed on the line. Furthermore, in the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

2383. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE xxii

5 × 8.5 cm.

Third century. *Plate*

Fragment of a leaf of papyrus codex containing on the recto side Luke xxii 41 and 45-48, 42-44 being omitted, and on the verso side xxii 58-61. On the recto the ink is almost effaced and the text is readable only with difficulty. The handwriting consists of rough rounded capitals of moderate size, of the type found in a good documentary hand rather than in a literary hand. It is of the same general character but more formal than that found in the Dictys of P. Teb. 268, or the petition P. Lond. Inv. 2565 (*JEA* xxi (1935), plate opp. p. 224), less formal than the generally similar Africanus hand of 412. All these examples are dated more or less securely to the middle of the third century, the period to which this scrap should no doubt also be assigned. Comparison is also worth while with 2, a papyrus codex of Matthew which is now usually dated to the third century. The scribe uses no punctuation. *Nomina sacra* are found as follows: $\overline{\text{I}\eta\upsilon}$ l. 13, $\overline{\alpha[\nu]\epsilon}$ l. 21; and $\overline{\alpha\nu\epsilon}$ (and $\overline{\kappa\nu}$) are needed for restorations in ll. 16 and 26 respectively.

Each line appears to have contained between 20 and 26 letters, 23-24 being the commonest number. Between the last line of the recto and the first line of the verso about 780 letters are missing if we suppose the scribe to have omitted nothing. This is equivalent to, say, 35-36 lines. If each leaf held only a single column, each column would be of 48-50 lines, with a height of over 28 cm. and a width of 15 cm. This is the most likely hypothesis. For apart from the rarity of papyrus codices of the Gospels with two columns to the page, the empty space on the right-hand side of the recto and the left-hand side of the verso is most naturally interpreted as the margin of the leaf, so that even if the page held two columns, the two columns that survive are in fact consecutive. If the space does not represent the margin of the leaf but an inter-columnar space, the missing intermediate section has to be divided between three columns, and the height of these could hardly be more than the 8 cm. of the surviving portion, an unlikely format.

Since nowhere does more than a third of the length of line survive, the text offered here is a work of reconstruction based on the necessity for a line of 23-24 letters mean length. In its formation I should like to acknowledge the help derived from the suggestions and criticisms of Professor Hollis W. Huston, of Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, who also made useful suggestions for 2384 and 2385. The text is idiosyncratic. Some of its peculiarities may be due to mere error on the part of the scribe. Certainly he commits faults of omission (ll. 3-4 n.), and he may be responsible for the incorporation into the text as a doublet ($\overline{\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon[\delta]o\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma}$ $\overline{\kappa\alpha\iota[\mu\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu\varsigma]}$)

ll. 5-6) of what was intended as a correction or gloss. But a number of points remains, not all imputable to careless copying. Some consist in the omission of a single word or the addition of a name, others in a variation of word order. An interesting variant is that in v. 61 according to which when the cock crew after Peter's denial, Peter turned and looked at it. The scribe's large omission on the recto is easier to explain (ll. 3-4 nn.) if his exemplar did not in fact contain vv. 43-44, the incident of the appearance of the angel and of the bloody sweat. This question apart, the papyrus lines up with none of the well-known groups. It contains three examples of characteristic D-readings (ll. 13, 16, 27), but these are counterbalanced by eight disagreements with D. Unimportant agreements with Kenyon's *a* group are found at l. 16, with his *β* group at l. 26.

The papyrus has been assigned the number p 69.

Recto

.

.
]. [. .] . [. .]
ωσ]ει λιθου β[ολην]

xxii 41

και θεις τα γονατα προσ]ηυχετο
και ελθων προς τους μαθ]ητας ευ-

5 ρεν αυτους καθευ]δοντας κοι-
μωμενους απο τη]ς λυττης [ι]σ]αι
ειπεν αυτοις] τι καθευδε-
τε ανασταντες προ]ρηχεσθε

10 ινα μη εισελθητε εις πειρ]ασμον
ετι δε αυτου λαλοντος ε]δου
οχλος και ο λεγομενος Ιου]δας
εις των ιβ] προρηχετο α]ν[τ]ους
και εγγισας εφίλησε]ν τον Ιη]ν

Ιουδα φι]λη] ματι

48

.

Verso

.

15 . . .] αν[τ]ω ε[
ο δε ειπεν [α]νε ουκ ειμι και δι-
αστασης ωσ]ει ωρας αλλος ισχυ-
ριζετο λεγ]ων επ αληθειας και
ογτρος ην μ]ετ αυτου και γαρ Γα-
20 λ[ι]λαμος εστ]ιν ειπε δε ο Πετρος
α]ν]ε ουκ οιδ]α ο λεγεις και ετι
αυτου λαλον]τος παραρημα
εφωνησεν [α]λεκτωρ και στρα-
φεις ο Πετ]ρος ενεβλεψεν αυ-
25 τω τοτε [υ]πεμνησθη ο Πετρος
του ρημ]ατος του κυ ως ειπεν
αυτω π[ρι]ν αλεκτορα φωνησαι ση-
μ]ερον

.

1 The merest traces.

3 The ending cannot be read as εὐχῆς, that is, as part of v. 45.

4 Before the surviving part of l. 5 the minimum syntactical requirement is εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καθεύδοντας, which is too long for that line. Part of the clause must therefore have fallen in the previous line, and the presence of two horizontals (the rest of the ink being entirely rubbed away) in a position consistent with ητ of μαθ]ητας is the authority for restoring l. 4 as the second part of v. 45. PSI 2 (= 0171) has και before ελθων. It is assumed that the scribe's eye travelled from προσ]ηχετο v. 41 to προσευχης v. 45. Such an omission by homoeoteleuton is plausible only if the interval jumped is not too great. Assuming the exemplar also had lines of c. 25 letters and did not contain vv. 43, 44, these two words could have occurred at the ends of lines four lines apart. If vv. 43 and 44 were in the exemplar, the distance between these words would have been eleven or twelve lines and the explanation loses in plausibility. It looks, therefore, as though these verses were omitted in the exemplar, as they are in κ^a ABNRTW (13, 69, 124, 346, 713, 788, 826) 473 481 579 1071* f Sy^a Sa Bo.

5 καθεύδοντας και [μωμ]ένους: κοιμωμένοις αὐτοῖς κ BDLT 69 346 and PSI 2, αὐτοῖς κοιμωμένοις AQRWXΓΔ@AΠ al^{1er} it^{1er} vg Syr. Cf. Mt. xxvi. 40 = Mk. xiv. 37 αὐτοῖς καθεύδοντας.

7 The line is three or more letters short, but there is no MS. authority for extending the restoration to, e.g., ειπεν αυτοις δ Ιης or δια]τι (τι om. D).

10 ετι δε as DEHSVΓΔ@ (I owe the restoration to Prof. D. K. Aland); ετι αυτω cett. After ε]δου a curving sign, meaning unknown.

11 οχλος]+πολύς D sy^{ac}; 'Ιουδας]+'Ισκαριωθ D 1, και 'Ιουδας ό καλούμενος 'Ισκαριώτης 157.

12 α]ν]ε, as κ ABDLRTXΔ@Π, αὐτοῖς ΓΑ al.

13 και εγγισας εφίλησε]ν τον Ιη]ν is the reading of D a b (c) e ff^a i Aeth 1 r Sy^{ac}(^u) (Bo) Arm. The] of εφίλησε]ν is very uncertainly read. All others have και ήγγισεν τω 'Ιησοῦ φιλησαι αυτον, to which DEHX@ 7 fam. 13 al. b c Syr^v add τοῦτο γάρ σημειον δεδωκε αυτοις εν αν φιλησω αυτος εστιν.

14 Ιης δε κ BLTX 157 (or δ δε Ιης ADRΓΔ@AΠ) ειπεν αυτω (τω D) 'Ιουδα (om. κ^a , suppl. κ^b).

15] αν[τ]ω ε]ειπεν (the unanimous MSS. reading of v. 56) is very uncertainly read. ιδων αυτον εφη is the nearly unanimous (ειπεν το αυτω D Syr^{cu}) MSS. reading here. If ειπεν was followed by και αυτω ε]ειπεν as in MSS. (except D Syr^{cu}), the line was unusually long.

16 δ δὲ with D (a) b ff^a i l g Sy^a; δ δὲ Πέτρος cett. εἶπεν with ADWXΓΔΘΨ, ἔφη NBKLMΤΠ.
17 διασώσῃς: διασώσῃς D. ὄρας+μᾶς cett.; ἄλλος+τις cett. ἰσχυρίζετο 69 472 579; διαχυρίζετο
cett.

18 λέγων ἐπ' ἀληθείας: D has ἐπ' ἀληθείας λέγω.
19 οὗτος ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ: οὗτος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν cett. (ἦν om. N* al., suppl. N*).
21 ὁ λέγεις plerique, τί λέγεις RD al. παραχρήμα before ἐτι cett. αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος as U I al. λαλ.
αὐτοῦ cett. (λαλ. τοῦ Πέτρου KMΠ al.).
23-24 καὶ στραφείς (D Sah στραφείς δὲ) ὁ κύριος (δ ὡς D I 22 106 124* 131 al.) ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ,
cett. 029 has δ Πέτρος κε instead of κύριος or ἰησ. The papyrus reading is idiosyncratic. The reading
Πέτρος can hardly be doubted, for the π is clear even though the later letters are only partially
preserved. Assuming ἐνέβλεψεν is to be restored, the interpretation must be 'Peter turned and looked
at it' (the cock). Just possibly the scribe has omitted by haplography part of a longer formulation
such as στραφείς ὁ Πέτρος ἐνέβλεψε τῷ κῶ και δ κς ἐνέβλεψεν αὐτῷ, but τῷ Πέτρῳ would be expected at
the end.

25 τότῃ: καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη cett.
26 βήματος as NBΛΤΧ 4 124 al., λόγου ADΓΔΘΛΠ. κω]; or ἰησ as N fam. 13 472.
27 αὐτῷ πρὶν as D ἰησ^{1er}, add ὅτι before πρὶν cett.
27-28 φωνῆσαι σήμερον NBKLMΓΧΠ b ff^a l, φωνῆσαι alone ADWΓΔΘΛΨ fam. I N U ἰησ^{1er} Sah
Syr^{cut} Pesh. Of the μ of [σῆ]μ[ερον] the upper blobs of both verticals remain, and the reading is fairly
secure. It is not π (i.e. [φωνῆσαι ἄ]π[αρνήση]).

2384. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW xi, xii

3.7 × 3.5 cm.

Third/fourth Century.

This tiny scrap of a papyrus book offers on the verso a few words from the beginnings of lines of Matthew xi 26-27, and on the recto from the ends of lines of xii 4-5. There are one or two points of textual interest. The scribe, writing in a black carbon ink, makes medium to large upright, squarish letters in an informal but fastidious manner. Horizontal strokes are fine, the verticals tend to be rounded, ε is narrow, ο tiny and, like ω, usually on the line, below which the tail of ν, ρ, τ extends. The hand may be compared with that of 847 and 1224 and assigned to the late third or early fourth century. There is one example (l. 4 πῆρ) of a *nomen sacrum*, though others are required for restoration. The length of line varies between 21 and 25 letters (usually 23). About 500 letters are missing between the end of the verso and beginning of the recto, that is about 22 or 23 lines. A single column of 28 to 29 lines would have been about 14 cm. high, to which, no doubt, ample margins should be added. The papyrus has been assigned the number p 70.

Verso

[εμ]πρρο[θεν σου πάντα μοι παρε- xi 26, 27
δοθη μ[πο του πρς μου και ου-
δεις γινωσκει τον υιον ει μη
ο πῆρ [ουδε τον πα τις επιγι-
5 κωσκ[ει

2384. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW XI, XII

Recto

και τους] αρ- xii 4
τους της προθεσεως ε]φαγεν ο
ουκ εξον ην αυτω φαγ]ειν ουδε
τους μετ αυτου ει μη το]ις ἱερευ-
10 σιν μονοις η ουκ ανεγ]νωτε εν
5 τω νομω οτι εν τῳ σαββ]ατῳ [.

3 γινώσκει: in l. 4 *infra*, however, the line will be short unless [επιγ]ινώσκει is restored. *επιγι-*
νώσκει twice cett. (except 71 692 γινώσκει twice acc. to Legg). Clemens Alex. quotes as γινώσκει in
Strom. vii 18, 109 but *επιγινώσκει* in QDS 8.

7 εφάγεν with the majority of uncials and minuscules: εφάγον NB 481. δ gives a better line divi-
sion than ε]δς]. For δ BDW 22 fam. 13 543 d ff^a k q aur Sy^c Pesh Aeth Arm; οδς remaining uncials,
most minuscules (a) b c f ff¹ g¹ h l vg Syr^h Cops^a b^o Geo Or.

11 ἐν τῷ σαββ]ατῳ: τοῖς σάββασιν cett. (ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν CDW 21 157 399 945 990 1010 1207 1223
1293 1354 148 d).

2385. GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW XIX

5.0 × 9.5 cm.

Fourth century.

Papyrus codex, preserving parts of five lines from the foot of a column, on the recto of Matthew xix 10-11, on the verso of xix 17-18. In so far as can be observed from so small a sample the text is close to that of the Vaticanus. In handwriting, too, the papyrus is not unlike the Vaticanus. The scribe, using an ink that has now turned brown, writes a largish round uncial with some pretensions to style. A certain informality, however, appears in the lightness of the hand, in the absence of terminal dots (e.g. on the cross-bars of the ε), and in the different sizes of the letters. The same letter is made now small, now larger (e.g. σ, the length of the cross-bar of τ) and there are marked variations between different letters (note the small γ). The papyrus should probably be assigned to the fourth century rather than the fifth. A rougher example of the same kind of hand in a theological text is to be seen in 1600, assigned by its editors to the fifth century. No *nomen sacrum* is found in the surviving portions, but αἰου seems to be required for restoration of l. 3. The length of line on the verso is between 16 and 19 letters, on the recto between 19 and 24 (but cf. l. 1 n.). About 550 letters are missing between the end of the recto and beginning of the verso, say 26-27 lines, which would give a column totalling 31-32 lines, if we assume these to be successive columns. The papyrus has been assigned the number p 71.

	Recto	
	
	[λε-]	xix 10
	[γο]ν[σων] αν[τω] ρι μα[θηται	
	ει ουτως εστιν αιτια το[υ] ανου	
	[μετα τ]ης γυναικος [ου συμ-	
5	[φε]ρ[ει] γαμησαι ο δε [ειπεν	ix
	[αυ]τοις ου παντες χω[ρουσι]	
	Verso	
	[ει δε] | θ[ε]λεις εις την ζωην	xix 17
	εισελθειν τηρει [τας εν-	
	τολας λεγει αντ[ω] ποιας	18
10	ο δε εφη το ου φ[ι]ουεν-	
	σης ου μοιχευσει[s]	

1 It is not easy to reconstruct the line arrangement on the recto. ε in l. 3 appears to start a line, for any preceding letter should be visible. Taking the mean length of line on the recto to be 20 or 21 letters (longer than on the verso), and assuming that all the lines were of equal length, one has the choice of making l. 3 (a) extend much farther to the right than the remainder, (b) be inset, (c) project into the left-hand margin. There are other difficulties: in (a), for example, there is not space to restore πεν of εἰπεν before αὐτοῖς in l. 6; and in (b), apart from the lack of palaeographical parallels for such εἰσθεῖς, it ought to be possible to see some additional letters at the opening of l. 2. (c) gives the easiest reconstruction and has been adopted. Possibly the εἰσθεῖς is due to the beginning of the reported speech being regarded as the first important words of the new section which begins at λέγουσι v. 10 (so marked in K(DWΘ)). One might have expected such an εἰσθεῖς to begin at λέγουσι itself (as in DΘ). C projects the α of ἀντῶ, on the principle of projecting the first letter of the first complete line after the section, a principle apparently used also in P. Magd. p 64 (C. H. Roberts, *ITR* xlvii (1953), pp. 233 seqq.).

2 οἱ μαθηταὶ KBΘ e ff' g' Cop^{ms}; οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ cett. For reasons of space almost certain that papyrus had the former.

3 ἡ αἰτία cett. The omission of ἡ is due to haplography and confusion with preceding ν.

8 τηρεῖ, for space reasons, with BD 565; τηρησον cett.

10 ὁ δὲ as F¹ Jam. 13 (exc. 69) 443 517 1093 1424 e 511; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, cett. εφη, as B Jam. 13 543; εἰπεν cett. After τὸ an empty space, which is probably merely a fault in the papyrus avoided by the scribe.

11 l. φονεύσεις.

2386. PSALMS 83(84)-84(85)

13.5 × 12.5 cm.

Fourth or fifth century.

Fragment of a papyrus roll containing on the recto the end of Psalm 83 (84) and the beginning of 84 (85). On the verso (in a different hand and upside down in relation to the recto) are a few letters from three lines, perhaps part of a private letter. The writing on the recto is in fairly large, squarish letters which have a slight slope to the right in a style midway between a formal and a cursive hand. Other representatives

of the style are 1078 which is assigned to the fourth century and 1603 which is assigned to the sixth. This text should probably be placed in the fourth or fifth century. The psalms are not written stichometrically as in 1226, but the ends of στίχοι are shown by two oblique strokes. A line drawn right across the column separates one psalm from the next. *Nomina sacra* are θῦ l. 7, θς l. 9 (but the hybrid θεος l. 3), κε ll. 11, 13, χ[ου] l. 4. The text, which is in general free from errors and sides twice with B, three times (probably) with NA(R)T, has been collated with that of H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge 1891). It has been assigned Rahlfs number 2070.

	[δυνα]||[μεων εισακουσον τη]ς προσευχης μ[ου]	83 (84) 9
	ενωτισαι ο θς Ιακ[ωβ] / διαψ[α(λμα)] [
	υπε]ρ[ασπιστα ημων]ν ιδε ο θεος [	10
	και] επιβλεψ[ον επι] το προσωπον του χ[ου] σου //	
5	ο]τι κρισων ημ[ερα] μια εν ταις αυ[λ]αις σ[ου]	11
	υ]περ χιλιαδας // εξελεξαμη[ν] παρ[αριπ-	
	τε]σθαι εν τω οικω του θῦ μου // μαλ[λον] η οικειν	
	εν σ]κηνωμασιν αμαρτωλων // οτι [ε]λεον και αλη-	12
	θεια]ν αγαπα κς // ο θς χαρ[ω και δοξαν] δωσι	
10	κς ου]χ υστερησι τα αγαθα του[ς] πορευομενους	13
	εν ακα[κ]ια // κε των δυναμ[εων] μακαριος ο	
	ανθρωπ[ο]ς ο [επι]ζων επι σε [//	
	.. ευδοκησα]ς κε την γη[ν] σου	84 (85) 1
].[

2 om. διάψαλα AT.

4 επι: εις T.

5 κρισῶν, the ο probably added by first hand. κρεισσω B* (κρεισων B^{b?} c¹ [?R]), κρισσον A(?R)T.

6-7 παραριπτεισθαι B, παραρίπτεισθαι NART. θεοῦ μου: so N^c,^a AT, κυριου R; μου om. B. After οικειν add. με N^c,^a RT.

8 ἐν σκηνώμασιν N^b,^c ART, ἐπὶ σ. B.

9 κς //: the stichometry is that of N*. N^c,^a B divided after ο θς, T pointed after κς l. 10.

10 ου]χ υστερησι (l. υστερήσει): ο στερησει B^b, ου στερησει N^c,^a T.

11 κς: add. ὁ θς N^c,^a RT.

12 The end of the line, amounting to between 10 and 14 letters, could have contained a stichometrical note, or an abbreviated colophon; but there is not room for the full title of this psalm, εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν, τοῖς υἱοῖς Κόβε φαλμός, or even a half-title. P. Lit. Lond. 208 offers a colophon at the end of each psalm, with the number at the beginning; 1352 puts number and title at the beginning. In this text it is probable that the numbers stood at the beginning, cf. next line.

13 The restoration εὐδόκησα]ς is two letters too short. It is probable, therefore, that the number πδ preceded.

14 The traces are too slight for identification, but could perhaps be reconciled with [την αιχμαλωσιαν Ια]κωβ.

NEW CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS

2387. ALCMAN, Παρθένια

Verses in which the dialect, or rather dialectal mixture, including vocabulary and accentuation, the metre, and, so far as it can be grasped, the content are so well in accord with what we can ourselves observe or are told about the poetry of Alcman, are naturally attributed to that author and I do not expect anybody to quarrel with the attribution to him of the following fragments, although there is no coincidence with anything of which his authorship is assured and although it seems that even in antiquity there was some doubt or a doubt of some sort attaching to at least part of what is preserved in this manuscript. Moreover, since he is credited with *παρθέν(ε)ια* (Steph. Byz. in *Ἐρμείχην*, Plut. *Mor.* 1136 E, 2389 fr. 9 i 9), it is not rash to suppose that fr. 1 and 3 belonged to them.¹ The speaker in both these fragments, like the speaker in the Louvre piece, seems to be a female member of the chorus and, in fr. 3, to be singing the praises of another member of the chorus.

The metrical structure of the piece contained in fr. 1 and 3 can be established with fair certainty. Like the Louvre parthenion, it was a monostrophic composition, the unit in this instance consisting of nine lines. Enough of the papyrus is preserved to show that it was subdivided, with what authority I do not know, by paragraphi at every third line, every ninth being marked by a coronis as well. Partly by direct observation, partly by reasonable inference, the following scheme is arrived at:

1	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ
2	-	υ	[-]	υ	-	υ	-	υ	υ	h		
3	-	υ	-	-	-	υ	υ	-	υ			
4	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	υ				
5	-	-	υ	υ	-	υ	|	-	υ	-	υ	-
6	-	[	υ	-								
7	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	υ	υ	
8	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	υ	υ	
9	-	υ	υ	-	υ	υ	-	|	υ	-	υ	-

On these lines the following observations may be made. The first, seventh, and eighth are the same as the thirteenth of the stanza of the Louvre parthenion, but whereas there the last short is always either a short open syllable followed at the beginning of the next line by a single consonant or a short closed syllable followed by

¹ The ancient references to the arrangement of Alcman's poems are full of ambiguities which I cannot resolve and this is not in any case the place to discuss. As a working hypothesis I should assume five books with the general title *Μελῶν*, of which one, perhaps the first, contained the *παρθένια ἀσματα*, and a sixth called *Κολυμβῶναι*, containing perhaps only one piece. But this is an unverifiable guess.

a vowel, here we also find a long open syllable followed by a vowel (*ποτιδέρκεται | οὐδ'* fr. 3 ii 2 seq., *λάβροι | αἶψα* *ibid.* 20 seq., and therefore presumably *ἀμείβεταῖ* *ibid.* 4, *φλοῖ* *ibid.* 19). Other hiatus, like irrationality, is not found.¹

There is no discernible example of a spondee's standing for a dactyl in the first line of any stanza (which is not to say it might not have occurred or might not be admissible), but this substitution is found in the seventh and eighth lines, in fr. 3 ii 2 in place of the first dactyl, *ibid.* 19 in place of the second, *ibid.* 20 in place of the third. It is not certain whether in fr. 3 ii 19 it did not occur in place of the third as well as of the second. In the Louvre parthenion it occurs twice, both times in place of the first dactyl, but both times a proper name is involved.

The second, third, and fourth lines, trochaic dimeters, the last catalectic, are also used in the stanza of the Louvre parthenion. The acatalectic occur together, in the eleventh and twelfth, as they do here, but with the difference that there there is elision between them (col. i 18 seq.), in our piece hiatus (fr. 3 ii 5 seq.); the catalectic separately, in the first, third, fifth, and seventh. Resolution occurs twice in the Louvre parthenion, coll. i 2, ii 22, not at all in 2387.

In the three examples preserved the fifth line has a break after the sixth syllable, but I am not certain whether this is fortuitous or significant, since the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth lines of the Louvre parthenion stanza, which differ only in having one trochaic metre instead of two, show a good percentage of word-endings after the fourth syllable, which can hardly be significant, but might have appeared so, if that piece had been no better preserved than this.

The ninth line, the so-called *ἐγκωμιολογικόν*, does not survive elsewhere in the remains of Alcman; the corresponding last verse of the Louvre parthenion stanza is -υυ-υυ-υυ- in the first three and the seventh instances, -υυ-υυ-υυ- in the fourth, fifth, and sixth.

The text is written in a highly stylized upright uncial which has affinities with 1790 and may be assigned to the latter part of the first century B.C. or the earlier of the first century A.D. To judge by the perceptible difference in thickness of stroke the lection signs proceed from at least two hands, one of them possibly that of the copyist. Not less than three, and perhaps as many as five, different hands may be recognized in the marginal and interlinear additions. The note at the top of fr. 1 may well belong to the first century A.D., the two in different hands in the margin of fr. 3 i may likewise be about contemporary.

¹ Unless it occurred in fr. 1, 6.

Fr. 1

]	
]	
]τα[	]	1
]αρενγβε[. . .]ικαντιγβ' αυτη		2
]εμπτωι . . .]εγσει . . .]		3
]αφη περιεγεγβ' ενδειωιπτο		4
] απερ[. .]γβ ην		5
]	
]	
	]υμνιαδες περιμεφρνας	
	]σαιδας	
	]ωδακούσαι φ[
	]ασοπος	
5	]. . ρακᾶλον ὕμνιοιζᾶν μελος	Fr. 2
	].οι	
	]πογλεφαρων κσει . . .]εφιλυκων	]αν[
	]δεμα . ειπεδαγω .]μιν] [
	]. ιστακο . . .]ανθαντιναξω .	]η* [
10	]. χη[. . .]λοιπο . . c	

Fr. 1 3 *margin*. After *ι* two or three cursive letters, beyond which the upper right-hand arc of a circle or an upright with a circumflex above and to left 5] . . . four traces on a single fibre. Presumably ¹υ. 8 Between *α* and *ε* a dot, nearer to *α*, level with the tops of the letters. The ² uncertain. After *ω* the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope to right. Presumably ³ι. 9], on the line the end of a stroke descending from left 10], the top of a circle.

Fr. 2 might, to judge by its appearance, belong to the neighbourhood of the lower right-hand side of fr. 1 3], only the upper part of the right-hand upright.

Fr. 1

	]τα[
	π]αρεγγρα() ἐν[. .]ικ αντιγρά(φοις) αὐτη	
	]πέμπτωι . . και ἐν ἐκείνωι	
	ἐν . . τῶι]Αρ(ιστο)νί(κου) περιεγέγρα(πτο) ἐν δὲ τῶι Πτολ(εμαίου)	
	ἀπερ[ί]γγρα(πτος) ἦν.	

1	'Ολυμνιαδες περι με φρένας	
2	]c αιδας	
3	]ωδ' ακούσαι	
4	]αc όπόc	
5	]. . ρα καλόν ὕμνιοιζᾶν μέλος	5
6	].οι	
7	]πό γλεφάρων κσει[α]σει γλυκύν	
8	]δεμα . ειπεδαγω .]μιν	
9	]. ιστα κόμ[αν ξ]ανθάν τινάξω,	
10	]. χη[. . . ἀπ[α]λοί πόδες	10

Fr. 1 *margin*. The note, written in what is prima facie the upper margin of the roll and presumably referring to something below itself, is susceptible of an interpretation which may be considered reasonably likely in general terms, but there remain ambiguities of detail which deprive it of much of its value. 'This . . . is wrongly inserted in . . . copies in the fifth (book) . . . and in that (book) it was bracketed in Aristonicus' copy, but was not bracketed in Ptolemy's.' On this the following remarks may be made:

παρεγγρα(): I suppose *παρεγγρά(φεται)*, but the precise form is not of consequence. The word is certainly sometimes, and perhaps generally, used to imply spuriousness in what is inserted (e.g. Strabo 394), but here I am disposed to believe that not authenticity but correct location is in question. 'This' is found both in this book and in the fifth, it is wrongly inserted in one of these places, Aristonicus' copy but not Ptolemy's marks it for omission in the fifth'; if this is the sense, presumably Aristonicus thought it correctly situated in this place, Ptolemy in the other. Neither completely rejected it.

ἐν[. .]ικ: though there is some uncertainty about the exact amount of space between *ν* and *ι*, which are on different pieces of papyrus, I think it is safe to say that *ἐν ἐνίοις* is ruled out and that *ἐν τοῖς* is probable. What 'copies' are meant? I suppose it is likeliest that they are the two referred to, that of Aristonicus and that of Ptolemy. For the use of two 'copies'—for us I think it would be more accurate to call them 'exemplars'—by a scribe cf. 1174-5 *οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν τῶι Θέωνος, οὕτως ἦν μόνον ἐν ἐτέρωι* and see T. W. Allen, *Papyrus Brit. Sch. Rome* v 76 seqq.

αὐτη: the two likeliest feminines are *ᾠδή* and *τροφή*. I have thought of no plausible argument in favour of one against the other. It does not look as if the actual mention of the noun, whatever it was, could have been dispensed with.

πέμπτωι: in accordance with normal usage this can only mean 'in the fifth book'. Since this MS. must therefore represent some book other than the fifth and the note is *here*, I must suppose that

'also in the fifth book' was written. But how to supplement l. 4, if alinement on the left is to be kept with as much as ἡ ὠδῆ (or τροφή) κἄν (τῶν) in l. 3, I do not see.

There is a faint trace at a more than normal interval after πέμπτοι and a still wider interval before καί; if a letter, a suspended letter or two may have disappeared in a gap and stripped area above it, but nothing essential seems to be wanting and I have no explanation of the phenomenon to offer.

ἐν δὲ τῶν Πτολ(εμαίου) suggests a preceding ἐν μὲν τῶν Ἀρ(ετρονίου) and no more seems to be required, but I do not think that this supplement would aline on the left with even the shortest of the supplements of the previous line proposed above. It must, however, be remembered that marginal notes are not always written on one alinement, though there is generally, I believe, an explanation of irregularity to be found in avoidance of the text, which is not a consideration that could have entered here.

That ἀρῆ is to be extended as Ἀριετόνκος, not as has been proposed at other occurrences Ἀριετόφάνης, is shown by what is presumably an alternative representation of the same name, ἀρῆ, found elsewhere.

An Aristonicus and a Ptolemy who were father and son are known from Athen. 481 d, Schol. *Il.* iv 423, and Suidas (who inverts the relationship). If these two are meant, this is the only record of their having concerned themselves with Alcmān, unless Aristonicus is to be recognized in either or both of ἀριε^α and ἀρῆ. . . in the margins of the Louvre parthenion opposite cols. i 32, iii 27.

(I have no precise idea what was meant by 'X's copy'. Was X the writer, the owner, the annotator? But this is a problem not peculiar to this passage and can be discussed only in a wider connexion.)

1-10 correspond metrically to fr. 3 ll 4-13, 13-22. It is therefore deducible that the first verse is the first of a strophe and I do not think it will be doubted that it is the first of a poem, presumably the same poem as that in fr. 3. This is the reason for locating fr. 1 on the left of fr. 3; there is no external evidence about its place in the roll. At least one column is lost between them; if only one, it is represented by fr. 3 i.

1 Ὀλυμπιάδες is naturally taken to refer to the Muses. I suppose it to be most probably a vocative.

1 seq. περὶ με φρένας < >: apparently something like 'surround my senses with songs' (or 'the sound of song'). The Homeric analogues have either the form: object--περὶ φρένας--simple verb (cf. particularly *Il.* x 130), or the form: object 'whole and part'--compound verb. The order found here, if it is not simply an innovation, might be explained either by the impossibility of beginning the sentence with με, if Ὀλυμπιάδες is a vocative, or by supposing περὶ to be in *inesit*.

3 seqq. I should guess ἴω to be the representative of a first person singular present indicative and the sense to be: ἐμὲρῳ δ' ἀκούει . . . ὅπως . . . ὑμνοῦσθαι μέλος. It may be worth while to draw attention to παρθενίας ὅπως in *Pind.* fr. 333 (a) 14. In any case, I take ὑμνοῦσθαι to refer to the girls of the chorus, not the Muses.

3 ἀκούει: infinitive, the accent as in ἀκούει Louvre parth. col. ii 31.

3 marg. I cannot be certain that the nearer note was not ῥο, as at fr. 3 ii 10, but, if so, it was much less carefully written.

5 κἄδω, if this is to be recognized, is apparently in opposition to instances of κἄλ- in Alcmān fr. 65, 97, and presumably 35; καλλᾶ, 98, guaranteed by *Apoll. Dysc.* π. *Παιρρ.* 365, may be of a different nature. Though the evidence is sparse, there is little doubt that the loss of ε from the combination short vowel-consonant-ε was not normally followed in Alcmān's dialect by compensatory lengthening of the vowel and that κἄδω would have to be regarded, like γῶνασσα, δῆρι, fr. 30, 68, as a borrowing from another source.

ὑμνοῦσθαι: in the text of Alcmān the ending of the feminine participle is regularly exhibited as -οισα, before which the change of ε to ι (though it is not the invariable treatment of ε before a vowel) is as expected. I have no exact parallel to the synecphoresis of ι in such forms from Alcmān himself, the nearest comparable being εἴωσ-, εἴει (Louvre parth. col. iii 1, 30), but the first word of *Aristoph. Iysistr.* 1148 provides one. The metrical value of the combination is not elsewhere apparent.

On πυλέωνα fr. 3 ii 5 see the note there.

7 *Soph. Trach.* 989 κεδάσαι τῶνδ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βλεφάρων θ' ὕπνον puts into one's head ὕπνον ἀπὸ γλεφάρων κεδάσει γλυκύν, 'will waken', said, I suppose, of the noise made by the singers.

Note κεδάσει but τινάξω, i.e. prima facie, τινάξω. Similarly φάσει but παρήκομεν (Louvre parth. cols. iii 5, i 12).

8 πῶδ' ἀγῶν' ἔμην 'to join the gathering', for which there are Homeric models, would suit, but I am doubtful how to articulate the preceding letters. ἵε δέ μ' ἀγει is to hand, but I find no example of ἀγειν with a dependent infinitive earlier than Eur. *Hec.* 43.

9 ἐνθα μάλιστα seems indicated, though neither 'whereabout' nor 'precisely where' is a very attractive sense.

κόμαν ξανθάν: cf. Louvre parth. col. iii last v. ξανθαὶ κομικαί.

Col. i	Fr. 3 Col. ii	Col. iii
]	/λυσιμελειτεπόσωιτ . . . ρωτερα	ι[
]λοσ·	δ' υπνω και θάνατωιτωρ . . . δερκεται·	ο[
]	οὐδε τιμα/ιδιωσγλυκ' . . . ήνα·	μ[
]ρουραψυχρα	α[·], ὑμέλοιαδέμ' ουδεναιμειβεται	μ[
]α απαρχε	[. . . .]νυλεων' εχοισα[]	εί· [5
]α. ας·	[. . .]τι . . . γλα[.] . . . τοσαστη[]	δν· [
]	ωρανωδιάλπετης	εϋ· [
	]ηχρῦσιονερνοσηαπαλ[. . .]ον	ὀλε[
	· . .]ν	οσαίμ[
	]διέβᾶταναοῖςπο[. . .]	ἀλλα· [10
	]ομοσνοτιάκινύραχ[. . .]ις	εσδε· [
	]αρσενικᾶνχαίταμξινίδει· [.]	β· με· [
	]ετυμέλοιακαταστρατον	· . .]κεσ[
	]ελημαδάμωι	· . .]εσ[
	]ανελοῖσα [15	
	]λεγω· [
	]εναβαλ' αἴ[.] γαρίργυριν [
	]· . .]α	· . .] [
	]αἰδομι' αἴπωςμε . . . οφίλοι μ	· . .] [
	]εδ'· [·]· σαπαλᾶσχηροσλάβοι·	δ[20
	]αμῖαις[] . . . ετισιτηνᾶσγενοίμαν·	· . .] [
	]νῦνδ'· [·]· δαπαῖδαβι[.] νφρρη . . .	ε[
	]παιδι· [] μεχοισαν	εί[
	]· ε[] νῆπαῖς	κ· [
	]χαριν·	ἔσγφ[25
		οἰδε[
		εὔδε[
		· . .]· τ[

Fr. 3 Col. ii	
7 λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα	
8 δ' ὑπνω καὶ κανάτω ποτιδέρεται,	
9 οὐδέ τι μαμίδιος γλυκ' ἦνα.	
1 Ἀ[ε]τυμέλοια δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται	
2]ν πυλεῶν' ἔχοισα	5
3 [α] τις αἰγλά[ε]ντος ἀστήρ	
4 ὠρανῶ διαιπετήσ	
5 ἢ χρῦσιον ἔρνος ἢ ἀπαλδ[ν ψιλ]ον	
6 · . .]ν	
7]· διέβα ταναοῖς πο[ε]	10
8]ομος νοτία Κινύρα χ[α]ρῖς	
9 ἐπὶ π[αρσενικᾶν χαίταιων ἴσδει,	
1 Ἀ[ε]τυμέλοια κατὰ στρατόν	
2]μέλημα δάμωι	
3]μαν ἐλοῖσα	15
4]λέγω·	
5]εναβαλ' αἴ[ι] γὰρ ἄργυριν	
6]· . .]α	
7]α ἴδομι' αἴ πως με . . . ον φίλοι	
8]εσ'· [·]· σαπαλᾶσ χηρός λάβοι,	20
9 αἴψα κ[]· ετισιτηνᾶσ γενοίμαν.	
1 νῦν δ' []· δα παῖδα βα[θ]ύφρονα	
2 παιδι· [] μ' ἔχοισαν	
3]· ε[]· ν ἄ παῖς	
4]χάρων	25

Fr. 3 Col. ii 3 There would be room for three letters between κ and η, but I see traces only of two, which must therefore both be vowels, the first long, the second short 12 Unexplained ink over the first ν 19 To right of the trema a dot of ink; if the lower end of an acute, out of position Between ε and ρ a hook on the line, as of ε, followed by the foot of an upright with a serif to left 20 See comm. 1. 21 Below 4 the foot of an upright [], if the preceding or following letter was broad, no letter is missing []; the lower part of an upright 21], the upper end of a stroke rising to right, perhaps κ or χ 22 marg. See comm. 23], a dot level with the top of the letters 24], the top of an upright [], the top of an upright Col. iii 5 [], the start of a stroke ascending to right 6 [], a dot slightly higher than the tops of the letters 7 [], the start of a stroke ascending to right 11 [], two strokes at an angle,

perhaps the lower part of λ 12 ̄, a dot slightly above the level of the letters, presumably a ̄, the upper left-hand arc of a circle 14], the apex of α, δ, λ 19], the start of a stroke rising to right 21], the left-hand side of γ or π 24], the start of a stroke rising to right 28], . . ., rubbed; possibly εϰ

Fr. 3 If it is assumed that col. iii belongs to the same composition as col. ii—it is *prima facie* in the same stanza—and that this composition begins in fr. 1, it can be calculated that it contained not less than 126 verses. It can be similarly calculated that the Louvre parthenion contained not less than 112. For neither can any upper limit be arrived at.

Col. i 4 κ]ουερά-ψυχρά: cf. Hesych. in κρυερήν.

Col. ii 1 λυσιμελής . . . πόθος Archil. fr. 85.

1 seq. τακερά δερκόμενος Ibyc. fr. 2.

For the 'softness' of sleep see Headlam-Knox on Herodas vi 71.

3 Or οδδ' ετι. There appears to be no verb, so that a nominal phrase must be postulated. I can make no plausible guess at its contents. I cannot read either γλυκῆα or κήνα.

The coronis between this and the next line was omitted by the writer of the text and has been supplied by another hand. I have noticed in two independent papyri, each time against a coronis, οδκ ἦν κορωνίς and οδκ ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράψαι. See 2201 col. ii 2 note.

4 ἀμείβεταί, but ἀμειβεί fr. 11, 4. Aristophanes the grammarian seems to have supposed that ἀμειβ- also could occur for ἀμειψ-, to judge by Eustath. 546, 29: Schol. I. II. v 266 (with a corrupt quotation of Louvre parth. col. ii 31).

5 [ἀλλ(α) . . .] The verb seems to come at l. 10, διδβα, but I cannot explain the variations of tense.

πυλεῶν': since both the thing and the name are Spartan (Athen. 678 a, 681 a), it is a puzzle why the vocalization and metrical value are characteristically Ionic. In the quotation Alem. fr. 16 as here antevocalic ε is recorded instead of the expected ι.

6 [ᾠ] is indicated by the spacing, but not to the exclusion of αἰ, and I have preferred it only as being nearer to the rest of the παρῆσεις, though it does not exactly coincide with it; ᾠστε, fr. 18, 4 below, αἰ[ι]π', Louvre parth. col. ii 7, ᾠπερ ibid. 12, [ᾠ]ε ibid. 20. Neither obviates the hiatus with the elidable vowel at the end of l. 5.

αἰγλίεντος: Ὀλύμπου Homeric, ὠδρανοῦ not hitherto before Apollonius Rhodius.

7 διαπετῆς apparently δετις διαπέτεται (διαπέτει διὰ τῆς πάλας . . . καὶ τοῦ χιῶνος Aristoph. Av. 1217). διαπετῆς is not attested in this sense and, though ὄπαι, κᾶται, παραι- occur in composition, διαιδoes not, unless it is implied by Pindar's διαβόλαιον, Iygh. ii 76.

The construction as in οἶκων . . . ὑπερτελής Eur. Ion 1519.

8 ἡ ἀπαλόν: instances of the synecphoresis of a long followed by a short syllable are by no means common and are graphically represented in different ways, e.g. ἡ ὄτ', as here, Pind. Isthm. vii. 8, 9; ἡπεινα 2105 fr. 1 i 19; ἡμ (i.e. ἡ (ε)μ) B.M. pap. 128 at II. xxiii 724.

ψίλον: i.e. πῖλον, 'down'; Pausan. iii 19, ὁ ψίλα καλοῦσθαι ὁ Διορσίε τὰ πτερά. Hence φιλόψιλος, Alem. fr. 152 (wrongly marked ψι in I.S.), ψίλωνος Sosibius ap. Athen. 678 b, and other derivatives and compounds, for which see Hesych. and particularly Schmidt's note on ψιλός.

11 seq. 'The moist charm of Cinyras' which 'has its seat on maidens' hair' may refer to some kind of Cyprian hair-oil. Cyprus, of which Cinyras was a legendary king famous for his wealth, produced, according to Pliny, II.N. xiii 5 et al., the highest quality of certain scents. I should add that I have considered the adjective κυνρά, but I do not see how 'making a plaintive noise' could be apposite here.

τεδει: for the representation of ζ as ed in Alemcan see Page, Alemcan, pp. 143 seqq.

14 μέλημα δάμοι looks like an interpretation of Ἄερυμολοικα conceived of as ἀετρε μέλουσα. The similar Ἄερυμῶδων would be apt to lead to the conceiving of it as ἀετρεαί μέλουσα.

17 βάλε (or ἀβάλε) might be thought of, as βάλε δή, βάλε . . . εἶην Alem. fr. 26, ἀβάλε fr. 112 Diehl, and αἰ γάρ, expressing a wish, as αἰ γάρ . . . εἶη, μέλοι Alem. fr. 29, 77. But the expression would be tautologous and I am doubtful whether the tautology could be justified by adducing the common combination of εἶθε, εἰ γάρ with persons of ᾠφέλιον. But I see no certainty that βαλ' is not an aorist imperative or even indicative and that αἰ γάρ is not 'for if'.

ἀργυρον: accusatives in -ων corresponding to -δα were regarded by ancient grammatical doctrine as characteristic of Aeolic. That view is implied by the recessive accent here. (It may be noted that the grammarians' examples are all words of trochaic form; perhaps πᾶκτιν, Sappho 22, 11, should be added to them.)

19 If ἴδοιμ' or ἴδοι μ' is to be recognized, it is to be said that in the Louvre papyrus initial ρ is once written but twice (or perhaps four times) omitted at places where its metrical effect of obviating hiatus is observable.

Marg. ἄ- is perhaps to be interpreted as μόνον, -νας) Π(τολεμαῖος), cf. μῦ Νι(), 1174 col. iv 23. If this interpretation were certain, it might be thought that one of two consequences would flow from it: either that Ptolemy accepted this piece here as well as in Bk. v or that the question of location arose only in regard of one stanza and that this line was outside that stanza. But the interpretation is anything but certain and, in any case, I do not think the inferences necessarily follow. All that 'peculiar to Ptolemy' need imply is that where the relative verse occurred in Ptolemy's copy it had some feature not in it where it occurred in Aristonicus' copy. No fresh light accrues on the hypothesis presented in the note on fr. 1 marg.

21 αἰψά κ(ε) . . . γενοίμαν 'I should straightway become' seems unavoidable, but I am uncertain where to find the protasis in the preceding lines and how to interpret the predicate in this. The metre possibly shows that a word ending occurs either at τι or at τικ, but κηνάε is wrongly vocalized and κηνάε wrongly accented. The nearest approach I can make to any sense is 'if she took (me?) by the soft hand, I should straightway become her suppliant' (ἵκέτις κήνας), and this, apart from its own defects, gives no account of the extremely puzzling end of l. 19 and beginning of l. 20.

I should add that the bases of the first visible letters of l. 20 (and the beginnings of ll. 21-24) are on a detached scrap, of which the level, guaranteed by cross-fibres, is not in doubt, but which might perhaps have stood a little to the left of the place I have assigned it. But the resulting relation of the tops and bases of the initial letters becomes no more comprehensible: .]σφ[(')]ε or .]σφ[(')]ε.

22 marg. Possibly ἄμ(ᾠα)ε or οὔ(τω), though the suspended letter is not readily to be read as either μ or υ.

Col. iii 8 Alcmān is quoted (ap. Cyrill., Rh. Mus. 43, 451) as having used ὀλέε in the sense of 'nightingale'.

Fr. 4.

].ϕ[.]κ[.]
].αὐδᾶ[.]
].ακομέ[
].ράνυ[
5].δῖε[.]
].νυμφᾶ[
].εἰσεν[
].ρατᾶν[
].ον[.]

Fr. 4 1], the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right 2 After ᾶ perhaps υ, represented only by the lower part of the second upright], a dot slightly below the tops of the letters 3], the lower part of an upright, τ acceptable 4], an upright 5], the lower part of an upright sloping slightly to right 7-8 Between ε and ρ, nearer to ε, a short upright stroke 9], the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope to right, presumably representing one of the triangular letters

Fr. 5

. . . [.
] α ω [.
] ε λ α [.
] ι πο λ [.
 5] χ ο ρ η [.
] ο ε [.

Fr. 5 The appearance of the front is compatible with a connexion with fr. 3 col. iii

1 The lower parts of two uprights, one with a serif to right, the other to left 3], perhaps the tip of the upper right-hand arm of χ 4], on the line a trace of a stroke ascending to right 5 The appearance suggests γ, but π cannot be excluded, though it leaves some ink unexplained 6], the upper part of an upright

Fr. 7

. . . [.
] ε ν α ε [.
] μ υ χ [.

Fr. 7 1], an upright with the tops of the letters 2], a dot level

Fr. 9

. . . [.
] ν χ ε ρ [.
] ε ω ν ε [.
] α ν δ β [.
 5] [.

Fr. 9 2], traces compatible with α 3], on the line the beginning of a stroke ascending to right 4], an upright Presumably υ

Fr. 6

. . . [.
] [.
] [.
] α [.
 5] [.

Fr. 6 The appearance is compatible with a position in fr. 3 col. ii

1 Traces suggesting the lower end of a coronis with the left-hand end of a paragraphus to right 3 An upright 5 The appearance suggests γ, but π cannot be excluded, though it leaves some ink unexplained

Fr. 8

. . . [.
] π ε [.
] υ ρ ε ε τ [.

Fr. 10

. . . [.
] [.
] α ν [.
] α δ [.
] ο ε [.
 5] θ ο ν [.
] ε τ [.
] ε [.

Fr. 10 3], perhaps the end of the upper hook of ε 4], the lower right-hand tip of δ, λ or the like 7 On either side of ε an upright with a serif to right

Fr. 11

. . . [.
] α φ ι λ ο π τ η [.
] ο ν τ ο ' π η , α [.
] ε τ ε υ ρ υ σ τ ε ρ ν [.
] τ ο ν α μ ε υ σ α [.
 5] θ α δ η [.
] [.

Fr. 11 1 Of τ only the lower part of the stem 2], on the line the tail of a stroke descending from left After η a trace level with the tops of the letters 3 Of ρ only the lower part of the stem

Fr. 13

. . . [.
] [.
] α , ε μ [.
] ω π ο λ [.
] α δ ι κ α [.] [.
 5] ν ε π α σ α ν α [.
] κ γ [.

Fr. 13 1 The foot of an upright 2], the lower part of an upright After α the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter and the right-hand side of a circular letter with a trace of ink to its left, ε η would be rather crushed 6 Or χ and μ], the upper tip of a straight stroke which might be α

Fr. 14

. . . [.
] [.
] [.
] ε ο υ τ [.
] [.] ε α [.

Fr. 14 2 A trace above the line

Fr. 12

. . . [.
] [.
] α ε α ε [.
] [.] κ ρ [.
 5] [.
] δ ο ί α ν [.
] ι κ ω ν [.
] ε [.
] ν α σ ι δ [.

Fr. 12 3 The short is written over a long by the same hand 4 κακο possible 7], the right-hand side of α or δ

Fr. 15

. . . [.
] η α [.
] [.
] ν ρ [.
] ε [.
 5] α δ [.

Fr. 15 3], the right-hand side of a circular letter Or φ [

Fr. 16

. . . [.
] ε μ [.
] α ν ν [.
] κ α [.
] [.
 5] [.

Fr. 16 3], an upright

Fr. 17

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . [.
] ροῖκά [.
] δομοισιν [.
] κοη [.] . [.
 5] . ον [. . .] . α [.
] δεκακισιοκ [.
] υγερω [.] .
] . [.
 . . .

Fr. 17 5], the upper end of a stroke rising from left to right. After υ the lower halves of two uprights; the distance of the first suggests τ, but they may both belong to one letter. Before α the feet of two uprights 7], traces suggesting the possibility of η^{sl}. If the dot above υ were part of a trema, the other dot should be visible; if it is a high stop, the following letters are inexplicable.

Fr. 20

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] .
] .
] ροη [.
] .
] .
] .
 5] υκη [.

Fr. 20 5], σ, ω, or ε

Fr. 22

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] κκ [.
 . . .

Fr. 22], an upright with the upper part bent over to left; not ε, perhaps υ

Fr. 18

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . [.
] .
] ε
] ἐξάωιτε [.
 5] . [.
] [.] [.
 . . .

Fr. 18 1 An upright and part of a cross-stroke

Fr. 19

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] .
] .
] αε [.
] κω [.
 . . .

Fr. 19 1 Probably the tail of a coronis 3], the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right, with a trace above to left; υ likeliest, but τ not ruled out

Fr. 21

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . [.
] τάρ [.
] φοιβ [.
] αν [.
 5] . [.
 . . .

Fr. 21 1 The lower left-hand part of a circular letter 5 Perhaps the apex of α, λ, δ, followed by the top left-hand part of ε or ρ

Fr. 23

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . υπεν [.
] . ορωδασια [.
] εσσαπιρος [.
] . πολλαδεκ [.
 5] . άστηκαυφ [.
] ντεμαιό [.
] . [.
 . . .

Fr. 23 1], a trace compatible with the end of the upper hook of ε or ε 2], a trace below the line close to ρ and therefore suggesting χ], the upper part of an upright 6 Perhaps όη, but the cross-stroke has gone 7 interl. Possibly ται

Fr. 26

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . [.
] κα [.
] ωιδα [.
] ενεω [.
 5] ανδε [.
] . ιο [.
 . . .

Fr. 26 2], the left-hand side of a circular letter 6], the upper part of the right-hand stroke of α, λ, δ

Fr. 28

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . [.
] . [.
] . [.
 5] ρό [.
 . . .

Fr. 28 5], the middle of an upright

Fr. 24

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] εν [.
 Fr. 24 Stripped; traces of 3 more ll.

Fr. 25

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] ε [.
] αιταδ [.
] [.
] ρηια [.
 5] αλευ [.
] ωα [.
 . . .

Fr. 25 1 Or η 4 The loop of ρ, unusually angular

Fr. 27

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] [.
] ωνμεγα [.
] οστε [.
 . . .

Fr. 29

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] ταν [.
] ου [.
 . . .

Fr. 30

. . .
 . . .
 . . .
] . ο [.
] . άε [.
 . . .

Fr. 30 1], an upright having a curved serif to the left below the line 2], perhaps the thickened upper tip of the upper branch of κ or χ

Fr. 31

```

.      .
  ] [
    ] [
  ] [
  ] [
  ] χστ[
.      .

```

Fr. 32

```

.      .
  ] [
    ] [
  ] [
  ] [
.      .

```

Fr. 33

```

.      .
  ] [
    ] [
  ] [
  ] [
.      .

```

Fr. 33 2], the right-hand arc of a circle .[, the apex of α, δ, or λ

Fr. 4 A paragraphus below the third line away from l. 2, under which a paragraphus is visible, should itself be visible. Barring error this scrap must be presumed to be from a different piece from that in fr. 1 and 3.

3 τακομέ[ν·

4 ἤρά νυν.

7 ἀ]εκεν. I cannot account for the trace under the first ε, but I should say it could not possibly represent a paragraphus and hardly a circumflex.

Fr. 5 5 i.e.]χ δρη[.

Fr. 11 2 seq. Perhaps πήρατα . . . ἐρικτέρω sc. γὰρ.

Fr. 13 5 Presumably Μεαῖα (but Μεαῖα udesp. fr. 36), or, if the division were admitted, ἀεῖα[τ·.

Fr. 17 7 τ]αίγ· was certainly not written.

Fr. 23 2 Perhaps εἰρη]χθῶρα δ' Ἐλασ[(or -ω<ι> δ' -αι), as at Pind. *Ol.* vii 18. ἀετη and Μαῖα[·, ll. 5 seq., would accord.

2388. ALCMAN

Although there is no way of confirming it, the attribution to Alcman of the following fragments on the strength of the dialect (including accentuation) and what can be recognized of the contents will not be disputed. μαλκακά, ἐδείξαν (Fr. 1, 5, 6), Κλησιμβρότα (fr. 1, 9), Δυμα[ναισ (fr. 5, 4), C]ερόπνα[(fr. 8, 4), all point in one direction. But unfortunately the identification of the author is of little practical value since nothing can be made of fragments so small and scattered.

The manuscript is written in a fine bold uncial very similar to that of P. Berl. 1970 (Wilcken, *Tafeln*, 2). It may also be compared on the one hand with 2079, than which it is larger and more upright as well as much more carefully executed, on the other with 656 v, though written with a broader point. The not very plentiful lection signs appear to be for the most part by the same hand as the text. I suppose the date to be in the second half of the second century.

Fr. 1

```

.      .
  ] [ ] αι . [
    ] αλλονεραιοφ[
  ] ωταδεγνετ[
  ] μασταδ' ανθ[
5   γαρύματαμαλκακα[
    νεοχμεδίσαντερτ[
  ] ποκιλαφ . [ ] ρα[ ] . αι· [
    ἀ' δ' υππεω[
  ] κλησιμβ[
10  βῶς' ἀτεμε[
    κλη . νβ[
  ] ουδ' α[ ] . ιφ[
    ] [
.      .

```

Fr. 1 1] [., the tail of ρ, φ or the like .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circular letter 2 Be-
 tween α and ι a low dot, I think fortuitous 7 After φ apparently the top of a circle For] ρ
 perhaps β] ., the middle part of an upright ι x After η an upright followed at an interval by
 the upper right-hand arc of a circle, γε, νo among the possibilities ι 2] ., the tail of a stroke
 descending from left; μ would suit ι 3 The upper part of an upright

4 seqq. I should guess: θαυμαστὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις . . . γαρύματα μαλκακά . . . νεόχμ' ἐδείξαν . . . This might have been said of Terpander. Polymnestus of Colophon was mentioned by Alcman (fr. 114). But it need hardly be said that there are nearer possibilities.

6 For 'novelty' of song cf. Alcman fr. 1, for 'display' of song cf. Alcman fr. 37.

9 seqq. Κλησιμβ[ρότα, a name like Αἰνιτιμβρότα (Louvre parth. iii 5), Τιμασιμβρότα (2390 fr. ii 16), . . . Since the Attic participle ending -ουσα is regularly represented in Alcman by -οισα, it must be presumed that -βῶσα (if that is to be recognized) represents an -αιω verb. I therefore recall Κολυμβῶσαι, which Ptolemy (ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 151 a 8) and Suidas seem to say is the title of a book or poem by this poet. It may also be worth while to call attention to the mysterious μάβωσ ἐπιάζε in Alcman fr. 44. But I need hardly say there are more obvious alternatives, e.g. ἡβῶσα, as well as the possibility of a different completion and even a different articulation.

Fr. 2

δ[
 ποιc[
 καλαμ[
 ἴχθυ[
 5 τάνκυ[
 κυνκ[

Fr. 2 2 .[, a dot below the line, e.g. φ, λ, χ
 4 .[, the middle of an indeterminable stroke
 6 .[, perhaps the top of α or λ, but there are other possibilities

Fr. 3

.[
 ταλλοτρ[
 ρορμεν[
 ἴδμεν[
 5 οιοσῆ[
 πολυδ[

Fr. 3 1 The lower end of an upright descending to the top of τ
 4 .[, the left-hand tip of a stroke level with the top of the letters

Fr. 4

.[
].ογο[
]ψαιφα[
]πολεμ[
 5].γ' αἰδη[
]ρωντ' α[
]ετάγ' οἰδε[
].ωδουμ[
]ηναυτου[
 10].[.]ανο[
].γ[

Fr. 4 1 The lower left-hand arc of a circle
 2 Apparently written smaller than the rest
 3 A dot on the line, λ possible
 5 .[, the foot of an upright
 6 .[, the tail of ρ, φ, or the like
 8]ν or two letters
 10 .[, the top of an upright; it may form part of the letter next to α

5 αἰδη[λ-
 7 Presumably -]ετά γ'.

Fr. 5

.[
]αν[
]δετ[
]λουσον[
].κονδυμαι[
 5]ροκαμοιχα[
]δονε[
]εουδετε[
]αλπιδ[
].[.]κοκλετ[

Fr. 5 4 .[, a dot on the line
 7 .[, the top of an upright; ρ not ruled out
 9 The second letter has a horizontal top (e.g. π, τ)

3 The possibility ε for θ is to be borne in mind, as also at fr. 2, 3.
 4 seq. This recalls the line quoted from Euphorion by Steph. Byz. in *Δυμάνας: δαίμων* < > αἰτο φιλοπλοκάμωι Δυμάνας. The *Δύμαναι* recur at 2390 fr. 2 ii 25, 2389 fr. 35 i.
 8 ε[δαπιδ, an unattested spelling.

Fr. 6

]ξῖναιξ[
]χοραγο[
].ε[
]
 5]
]ορ[
]
]
]πιππωνεα[
 10]νο[.]κα[
]μείον[
]
]

Fr. 6 Before the first verse the papyrus is blank for the equivalent of seven verses
 the first ξ (which is perhaps crossed out) the foot of an interlinear letter, possibly γ
 1 Above 3 .[, the right-hand stroke of α, δ, λ After ε the left-hand side of a circular letter

9 Presumably for]φ' ἔππ- in accordance with the Doric usage noted by Apollonius Dyscolus π. κυρτ. 61 (*Gr. Gr.* ii 483). But all the instances I have noticed are of κ or τ.
 11 μείον, cf. Alcm. fr. 90.

Fr. 7

.[
]η[
]κ[
]αλ[
 5]μ[
]τφ[

Fr. 7 Beginnings of lines?
 1 The lower part of an upright
 upright

Fr. 8

.[.ε[
]
]
]εράπνῶ[
 5]νούκ[
]

Fr. 8 1 .[, the right-hand end of a cross-bar
 5 .[, an as of γ, τ stroke
 4 Of ε only the end of the middle stroke

Fr. 9

.
].ηϵ[
]δacτ[
]ιoc[

Fr. 9 1], perhaps the bottom right-hand swirl of ξ

Fr. 11

.
]λ[μ][
]η.[
].ω[
]ν.[

Fr. 11 2], above the line the left-hand side of a circle 3], the right-hand end of a cross-bar as of π, τ 4], the upper left-hand arc of a circle, ω suggested

Fr. 13

.
]πa[
]αλ.[
]ζ.[

Fr. 13 2], an upright hand side of a circle 3], the left-

Fr. 15

.
].
]κoveτ[
] [

Fr. 15 1 The end of an upright descending below the line

Fr. 10

.
].
].αμ[
]χεστ[

Fr. 10 1 The tail of ρ or the like the lower left-hand part of κ ? 2],

Fr. 12

.
] [
].ηϵ[
]εα [
]αic[

Fr. 12 2], the tail of α or λ 3]ε may be better, though there is a trace below the overhang

Fr. 14

.
]κ[
]λφ[
]πω[
]. [

Fr. 14 4 Perhaps the top of β or ρ

Fr. 16

.
]δ.[
]a.[
].ν[

Fr. 16 1], apparently a middle stop, but the surface is rubbed and the rest of a letter may have disappeared 2], a dot on the edge of the break, level with the top of α 3], the tail of α, λ, μ or the like

Fr. 17

]ευρ'ε[

Fr. 19

.
].δε[
]αἰ.[

Fr. 19 2], a dot on the edge of the break, level with the tops of the letters

Fr. 21

.
]. [
]πει.[
]νρα[

Fr. 21 1]ν a possibility 2], the foot of a stroke hooked to left 3], apparently the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 18

.
].τϵ[

Fr. 18 1], the ink resembles the second apex of μ

Fr. 20

.
]οπ[
].δ.[

Fr. 20 2], a short stroke inclining slightly from left to right, on the line 3], the upper part of an upright

Fr. 22

.
]ν.[
].θν[

Fr. 22 2], the lower part of an upright

2389. COMMENTARY ON ALCMAN

The Louvre fragment of a parthenion of Alcman, though it is continuously legible to a degree not common in papyrus texts and has been long known and much discussed, is still very imperfectly comprehensible and hardly any new find could be more welcome than one which threw light on its obscurities or the figure of its author. But the hopes raised by the discovery of what were easily recognizable parts of a commentary on this and other compositions by Alcman have been disappointed. Not that it has been impossible to combine a considerable number of the scraps of papyrus, but their combination has not resulted in any appreciable run of text, so that for the most part we are confined to being able to say on what comment is being made not what the comment is. FR. 1, 3, and 4 refer to the Dioscuri, who are known to have occurred 'in Book I' and 'in the second poem' (which may, but need not, signify different places). FR. 6, 7, and perhaps 8, come from the exposition of the Louvre parthenion. Fr. 6 relates to a particularly perplexing passage but it throws no light on its difficulties though it tells us, or rather allows us to infer, something about a point of minor interest, what ancient commentators took an Ibenian (horse) to be. The same fragment also appears to glance at the debate whether Alcman was a Laconian or a Lydian, on which subject there is more in fr. 9. It does not seem that the disputants disposed of any direct evidence. Both in this papyrus and another, which I hope to publish in a later volume, their assertions, when not based on general considerations, are based either on quotations from other poets, whose name, date, and authority we do not know, making out Alcman a Laconian, or on inferences, drawn from words used by Alcman himself, that he was a Lydian, words which may or may not bear the construction put on them, though we now learn that Aristotle took this side.

The writing in the fragments numbered 1-34 evidently proceeds from one and the same hand, the small variations which may be perceived from place to place being such as would be expected to occur in the course of copying. The writing in the set of fragments brought together under 35, though to be attributed in my judgement to the same hand, differs from the preceding in appearance both in being smaller and in being more loosely executed. Fr. 35 also contains abbreviations, which are absent from 1-34. There may therefore be some doubt whether the two sets belong to the same manuscript though there can I think be none that they both contain commentary on Alcman. I refer to them below as variants A and B.

I believe the same copyist, whose hand I should compare to those of 1233 and 2176 and now assign to the second half of the first century, was further responsible for the following manuscripts: 2318; this resembles variant A, from which it differs

in being larger and in having a second α , in which the loop is not round but angular: 2327; in variant A but larger: 2397; this verges towards variant B (except for fr. 15 which is more like A, though some letter forms are different) but is slightly larger and not quite so relaxed.

Besides these four manuscripts, which are reproduced in P.O. xxii and this volume, so that readers can form their own opinion about them, there are reserved for future publication: a few very much tattered and rubbed prose fragments, perhaps also a commentary, in variant A; and a good number of fragments of lyrical pieces in variant A but of various sizes, the smallest larger than the Alcman commentary, some capable of being confused with the elegiac poem, 2327, and 2318.

Finally there are fragments in the same or a similar hand which I cannot certainly assign to any of the manuscripts mentioned, and in general the possibility that there is a greater number of separate manuscripts than I have succeeded in distinguishing must be borne in mind.

Fr. 1

(b)

]ε'δ[...], κώμα
]μαθωνδειρη
]ακανατατελε
 5]εταρφθενφρε
]ομεγελαος
]α.δ[.....]υτονημα
]ναιμετατωνδιοσκου
]κοσεντημηελ[
 10 (a)]ε[...]αιεληνηκα[
]λεγο[|]ω...[...].αφα[
 (c)]μετ...δ[|]νευ.εραπνιας-
]αεχεουσι πο[|]δεμνασαν'οσ[
]αγαπη[...].[|]ονβ[...].κχωνκαδ[
 15]σερ[...].κα[...]. αμφιβ[...].νπο[
]ουσα[...].[|]νεργων[...].νηεθη[
]ωριδιοσκ[...].[|]αιδου[
]ασαν [|]βριοςαντολοασκαιατ[
]καθολου[
]ειν[

Fr. 1 The level of (a) is determined relatively to (c) by cross-fibres, the interval between them is not certain but I believe there is actual contact at one point. The alinement of (c) below (b) is determined by the fibres of the back. There may well be no line lost between them, but I cannot certainly trace the cross-fibres of the top of (a) at the bottom of (b).

7 α or ap [, the lower tip of an upright on the line 9 [, unverifiable traces on the under layer, ο not excluded 11 After ω the foot of an upright, the upper part of an upright with a slight hook to the left, a trace not quite level with the top of this, and a tall slightly sinuous upright; there might be no more than three letters between ω and α, if the first and third were ν 12 τ α may be meant, though α has no loop and more resembles λ; it is followed by the lower part of an upright and this by the foot of another, perhaps π or η The dash may be the top of 7 14 After η an upright, followed at an interval by a cross-stroke with a perpendicular dropping from it, as of τ or π; the letter presumed missing between them would have been ι, or η, [should be written 15], the top of an upright The traces after κα might belong to one letter, e.g. ν 16], the top of an upright The ink before νε suggests an irregularly made ν, but ω may not be excluded, in which case τ ω ν, with nothing missing, is a possible though not verifiable interpretation of the traces 17 interl. ο corrected, perhaps from δ After υ the lower left-hand curve of a circle text [, the left-hand side of α or a similar letter Marg. 1], an upright with a trace to the left level with its top, perhaps],.

2 seqq. Perhaps κώμα | εἰὼν . . . κῶμα θεῶν δ' εἴρη- | κε οἱ ται . . . Alcman (fr. 5, like Pindar, *Nem.* x 87) described the Dioscuri as alive below ground, so that 'sleep' would be a proper expression for their mode of existence on alternate days, not but what words for 'sleep' are used metaphorically of death from Homer onwards.

4 seq. ἀκανάτας τελετας possible, cf. ἀθανάτοις τιμαῖς Pind. fr. 121, acc. after e.g. ὀρώντες or perhaps gen. after ἐτάρφθεν.

5 ἐτάρφθεν φρένα; φρεσί would, I presume, appear as φρασί.

7 seqq. αὐτὸν τιμάσθαι ἐν Θεράπνιας μετὰ τῶν Διοσκοῦρων. For the worship of Menelaus and Helen at Therapnae see PW, *Spartia*, cols. 1329, 1481.

8 Θεράπνια: . . . τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Ἁλλεμῆν ἐν ᾧ Harpocr. in v.

9 seq. Πελοπόννησος.

11 The letters bring the Apharetiadae to mind but I find no connexion between them and Therapnae. A grave said to be theirs was shown in Sparta (Paus. iii 13, 1) but Pausanias doubts whether they were buried there, thinking Messenia more likely (*ibid.*, cf. 14, 7).

12 seqq. If I am right in supposing that (a) and (c) touch in l. 13, there are about 3 letters lost between them in ll. 12-13 and none in ll. 14-16. Perhaps something like: μετὰ π. δ. [. . .] ἐν Θεράπνιας | τιμ]ὰς ἔχουσι. π]αλλὰ δ' ἐμνάσαντ' ο]σ[| . . .]αν ἀπήρ[ι]νον Β[α]κχῶν Καδ[μ] [. . .]σε[ί]καν. μετὰ π. δ. might, of course, be divided μετ' ἀπ. δ. In the lemma I do not know why Βακχῶν should not have its Doric form. πα]ρσεν. appears not to be a possible reading; perhaps, therefore, -γσε οἱ -ησε ἴ[ε]καν. I cannot account for the apparent interposition of the daughters of Cadmus. The interlinear note on l. 17 seems to show that the Dioscuri are still the subject.

15 seq. I suppose: ἀμφίβ[ε]λον πόσ[ε]ρον . . . τῶν ἔργων [ἐμ]νήσθη[σαν], but τῶν cannot be verified.

17 e.g. ὄβριος ἀντ' ὀλοῦσ καὶ ἀτά[ε]θαλιας, cf. Hes. *Θεογ.* 516.

Fr. 2

]σοιμ[
]ων[

Fr. 2 might come from the same neighbourhood as fr. 1 (b) 2], the top of ε or ε

1 π]σοιμ[ι-

Fr. 3 (a)

	]ετω[
	]γκω.[	(b)
	]ρα...[.].]ιοισιπ[
	]οιεστατω[.].]ικινε[	]μεν[
5	]οδματ.[.].]εγοςκα[	]αξιοι.[
	]δματ.[.].]πποτα[	]τωνδισκοιρω[
	]κυδρος π. γηστων[	]ησειαντιλεγων
	]σ οτιριμεινυτου[	5]ονουτωελεγομε
	]τωιπυθ.[	]αδειανυπο
10	]..στ[	]κατασκευα

(c)

]..[
	]..σκα.[
	]..ημ[
	]..ητς
5	]..υ

Fr. 3 The appearance of the papyrus suggests that these three scraps may have come from the same neighbourhood, (b) to the right of (a) in the next column at the level shown, (c) below the right side of (b). But it is no more than a possibility

(a) 2]ν not quite satisfactory, but neither is]ω or]ι.], a slightly sinuous upright, perhaps ω 3 After α the feet two strokes suiting, e.g., ιε, ιε or simply π, then traces on the line of two more letters After the gap a slight trace, not quite level with the top of ι, suggesting ε 4 Perhaps Alcman fr. 74 A; see comm.], a dot on the line, apparently the foot of an upright 5], a slightly sloping stroke compatible with ο, ω 6 seq. Alcman fr. 9 7 After π a slightly sinuous upright and, beyond the gap, a dot about level with the top of γ but hardly to be combined with it to form τ 9], the foot of an upright 10], the lower part of an upright

(b) 3], an upright

(c) 2], a tall vertical stroke, perhaps ε 3], a dot on the line and another to its right level with the top of η; possibly only one letter, e.g. κ 5], the upper part of a stroke descending with a slight slope from left to right followed by a trace compatible with the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 3 (a)

	]ετω[
	]γκω.[	(b)
	]ρα...[.].]ιοισι π[
	αιδ]οιεστάτοι ν[.].]ικινε[	]μεν[
5	]όδματο[ν στ]έγος Κά[στωρ	]αξιοι.[
	]δματῆ[ρε]ς [ε]ππότα[ι	]των Διοσκοιύρω[ν
	]κυδρός. π. γηστων[	]γῆσει ἀντιλέγων
	]σ ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ του[	5]ον οὕτως λεγομε-
	]τωι πυθ.[	]αδειαν ὑπο
10	]ιςτ[	]κατασκευα-

Fr. 3 (a) From [Herodian] π. εχημάτων 61 it appears that the lemma in ll. 3 seqq. occurred ἐν τῆι δευτέρῃ ἀϊδη (no doubt of Bk. I).

3 seq. It is hardly to be believed that in these lines the ancient citation Alcman fr. 74 A is not to be recognized, but there is some difficulty in adjusting it to the lemma. It is given by one of the two MSS. of the Et. Gen., which alone preserves it, in the form ναοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν αἰδοιέστατον, by the other in the form ενοῖσι κἀνθρώποισιν αἰδοιέστατον. The two iambic tetrameters, which can be constructed out of these data combined with what we have here:

οἰοῖσι π[—□—□ κἀνθρώποισιν αἰδ]οιεστάτοι
 ἢ αἰ]οικινε[—□—□—□—□]όδματο[ν στ]έγος,

would square with Κάστωρ τε πάλων ἀκίων δματῆρες, ἐππόται σοφοί,
 καὶ Παλυδεύκης κυδρός,

Alcman fr. 9, which follows in ll. 5 seqq., but I am doubtful of the possibility of reading ο in ἀ]οικινε.

5 Perhaps εἰ]δδματον. I am not sure that there is room for στ; perhaps τέγος is enough to fill it. See 2393 fr. 1, 8.

(b) 4 One may guess -η]γῆσει.

		Fr. 4	
(a) Col. i		Col. ii	
	.	δροδάμα[
	]ν	φουβηκα[
	] [ . οιο]	ταιαπολλ[
	] [ λην]	στροφετον[	(b)
5	] ]	⌈ συλληπτικ[
		⌊ θεων[] . . [
		⌋ (. [] νγα[
		⌋ αριδα[.] σεκτων[
		⌋ αμοσυναμ[
10		γεια . [] . . ε . ναπο[
		... μα[] ρθνα . ι . ι . τερτ . [

Fr. 4 There is no external evidence to determine the distance between (a) and (b). The fibres of the back show that they stand clear of one another; the interval may be greater than the supplements given presuppose

Col. ii 7 . [, an upright γα or γρ unless simply π 10 εγενν or εγην appears to have been converted into εγενν by means of a line drawn from the top of the ε (or the right-hand upright of η) to the bottom of the left-hand upright of ν 11 After να what looks like a tall ε with a stroke slightly curving upwards from the right-hand side of the top; ρ, τ not satisfactory . [, an upright with a slight hook to the right at the bottom, α, ο not excluded

		Fr. 4	
1a		Col. ii	(άν-)
	.	δροδάμα[
		Φοίβη κα[ι ' Πάειρα	
		ται απολλ[
		στροφε τον[
5		⌈ συλληπτικ[
		⌊ θεων[] . . [
		⌋ (. [] φν γ . [
		⌋ T[ν]δαριδα[ι]c εκ τών[
		Μωσαι M[ν]αμοσύνα μ[
10		γειαπ . [. .] . . σεγενναπο[
		... μα[. .] ρθνα . ι . ι . τερτ . [

Col. ii 2 seq. The daughters of Leucippus (granddaughters of Perieres, *Περήρες* Alcman fr. 149), carried off by the Dioscuri. In the *Cypria* they were said to be daughters of Apollo (Paus. iii 16, 1). 7-8 The coronis would naturally signify the end of the commentary on a poem, the indenting a title, the bracket cancellation.

9 We are told that according to Alcman (fr. 119) the father and mother of the Muses were Uranus and Ge, not Zeus and Mnemosyne, but this is not universally true as far as concerns Zeus (see fr. 45, 59).

Fr. 5

. . .
] . ο . []
] δεοτ[]
] οηγ[]
. . .

Fr. 5 resembles 4 (b)
1] . . traces of convergent strokes near the line, perhaps ν, followed by the lower part of an upright . [, the foot of an upright

Fr. 6

Col. i

(c)] .σιπποσκολαξαιος

(a)]ουτσηγαιδωπρο
]εφ. ακατασειδος
]ιπποσκηλ[]ειβηρν
]αι
 5]αξαιουδ[] .[. . .] ρ
]ηνου πε[]υστων
]ν αρισταρχοσ[] .ιαμ
]αταυταγενητ[]καλε
]δεαμφοτερω[] οντων
 10]ερευνο[] βηη[] ους
]ουσφειντηηλ[] ναι
] .υτουδεβουλετ[] λυ
]οαλκμαν σω[] .ν
]νεθνοσασοφ[] .ρι
 15]κειθειπροσα[] δβ
]αρηην περιδετω[] ων
]κοκν[] .ορδ[] νεαμ[]
] . . . σγρ[] δε[]
] .σν[] το[] ποντουτ[]

(b)

] .[.
] [] η]
] α ε
] .ια
] κ ι

Col. ii

αμνο[
 αμβροσ[
 μαχοντα[
 ειρημεν[
 5]ηναγιδ[]
 αυτασορ[]
 δετουτολ[]
 / νακιεισα[]
 ταρινδεσ[]
 10 []
 αδ . . . []
 χονταιτασ[]
 σικαλαπε[]
 αναπελει[]
 15 νεισθαεα[]
 ουτωσκακουσ[]
 ρακιαησιδω[]
 ουσαιοτουειρ[]
 20 μαχομεναιπε[]
 πλειαδιωντοσ[]
 γαρωσπελει[]
]ρουσιν πα[]
 . . . [] .αδιφ[]
 . . . [] . ναιμ[] . []
 25]φν
]πειντι .ειναιγαρ[]
]ετροφο[]
]σιαναντι[] τουτω[]
]χαποδαωστηλ[]
]λειπειν . τιμω[]
]ναστρονατεσ[]
 30]λογοντοιουτο[]
]ημασπεριτησ[]
] . νουαστρ[]
] . πο[]

Fr. 6

Col. i

] . ε]πποσ Κολαξαιος
] ουτωσ η Αγιδω προ
 δευ]τερα κατα το ειδος

]επποσ Κολ[αξαιος προ]ε]βηρν
 5 Κολ]αξαιου δ[] . [. . .] ρ
]β]ηνοβ. πε[] υς των
]ν Αρισταρχοσ ο]ετω]ει . αμ
]α ταυτα γένη]π[πων]κα . λε
]δε αμφοτέρω]ν προ]πόντων
 10 φ]έρειν τον []βηη[όν .] ους
]ουσ φησιν τήσ λ[] ναι
]ουτουδε βουλετ[αι] λυ
]ό Αλκμάν . σω[] . ν
]ν έθνοσ αποφ[] . ρι
 15]κεισθαι προσα[] . δο
 μ]άστρον . περι δε τώ]ν]ων
]ε ο Κν[]δ[]οσ δια[] νεαμ[]
] . . . ιμωσ γρ[]] δε[]
]τον πόντον τουτο]ν]

Col. ii

διμν]βηρβιαι φάροσ φεροικαισ νύκτα δι'
 άμβροσ[αν άτε ελριον άστρον άνειρομείναι
 μάχοντα[ι
 ειρημεν[
 5 τήν Αγιδά[
 αυτατεσ άρ]θριασ
 δε τουτο λ[] πλεο
 νάκεισ εισα[] Α
 ταρινδεσ[]
 10 []
 αδ . . . []
 χονται . τὰς δε Πλειάδασ Πελειάδασ φη
 σιν καθάπερ[και Πίνδαροσ όρει
 άν γε Πελειάδων μή τηλόθεν 'Οαρίανα
 15 νείσθαι . έα[]
 ουτωσ άκοσσαι] η τε Αγησχιό
 ρα και η Αγιδω []
 οδσαι το του ερ]ιου άστρον
 μαχόμεναι πε[]
 20 Πλειάδων τοσ α[]
 γάρ ώσ πελει]άδεσ
 ρουσιν πα[]
 νύκ[] τ[] α δι' ά]μβροσ[αν άτε ελριον άστρον άνει
 ρο]μείναι μ[έχ]ο]νται
 25 πειντι . είναι γάρ [] το νύκτα δι' άμβρο
 σ[αν άντίστροφο]ν τώι κανα
 χάποδα ώστε ηλ[]
 λείπειν τιμω[]
]ν άστρον άτε σ[] κατά
 30 λόγον ταιουτοή
 ήμασ περι τήσ[]
] . νου αστρ[]
] . πο[]

Fr. 6 Col. i The interval between (a) and (c) must be at least such that (a) stands clear of (c). Otherwise it can be determined only by the supplements. The level of (b) is fixed by cross-fibres relatively to (c) col. ii. Its position under the ends of (c) col. i must be more or less correct though I cannot certainly follow the vertical fibres from one to the other

5], a trace level with the top of δ], the top arc of a circle 10], the right-hand end of a cross stroke touching the top of ο 13]ρν or]ων 14], on the line the end of a stroke descending from left 18], the top of a stroke sloping slightly to right followed by a hook on the line; together might be α, λ Of ; only the lower part φ might be αι, οι

Col. ii 7], a dot on the line 11 Possibly διρμ 17 η made out of γι], a dot below

the line 18], a dot on the edge of the break, above the level of the letters; half of a trema? 22 Or α[], 27 Above the first α a part of a slanting stroke 28 τι slightly anomalous, but not prima facie η. See comm. 32 Before ν the top arc of a round letter 33], α or λ probable

Fr. 6 Col. i If this column was of the same breadth as the next, the lines contained round about 30 letters, of which about 5 are assignable to the gap on the left from l. 7 onwards. 1 seqq. Comment on col. ii 23 seqq. of the Louvre parthenion (P), which appears to have: αγησχιόραμεινύταιδεδεντερεπεδύγιδωιτοειδοσιπποσειβήνωκολαξαιόσδραμείναι. The sense usually obtained from this, that Agesichora is surpassed in beauty by Agido as a Colaxean horse by an Ibenian, postulates considerable corruption in the words to say nothing of the peculiar use of the future, and no light is shed by this commentary, which at first sight looks as if it were saying the opposite. 6 seqq. The general meaning appears to be: πε[ρι δε του γένου]σ των |]ππω]ν Αρισταρχοσ ο]ετωσ

ἴστορ]εῖ· ἀμ[φότερ]α ταῦτα γένη ἴσ[π]ων -]κἀ. λέ[γ]-]δὲ ἀμφοτέρω[ν τάχει διαπρ[ε]πόντων | προφ[έ]ρειν τὸν [']βη[ν]ῶν. This corresponds in its first part with the scholium opposite and below P ii 25, but I am not satisfied with the supplement [ξῶν]ικων suggested in that place. I should have guessed an adjective specifying the region in which their excellence showed itself.

A reading of Aristarchus is quoted at P ii 3 *margin*.

10 seqq. The sense is doubtless: So-and-so says that the Ibeni are a people of Lydia and from this he thinks it should be inferred that Alcman was a Lydian.

For the 'Ibηνοί as a Lydian people see Steph. Byz. in 'Ιβαφοί. For the 'wrong' view that Alcman was a Lydian cf. fr. 9 i 11 seqq. of this papyrus and Suidas in Ἀλκμάν (where it is attributed to Krates).

13 seqq. There is more room for uncertainty in the supplementing of these lines. κα[] may well be Sosibius, who is known to have written a work in at least three books about Alcman. In that case Σω[σίβιος δὲ δ' Ἀδελφῶν | 'Ιβηνοῖν ἔθνος ἀποφ[άνει] might be one possibility, though the citation of a Sosiphanes in P col. ii *lower margin*, makes Σω[σίφάνης δὲ τὸ τ]ῶν | 'Ιβηνοῖν κτλ. at least one other.

κείσθαι appears to indicate a statement of geographical situation, μάρτυν the adducing of the authority for it. If so, I should suppose προσα[] to be part of προσαγόμενος or the like (rather than of, e.g., πρὸς ἄρκτου, which would leave very little room for the necessary participle),]ρι· to be part of the name of the land (people, or the like) relatively to which the position of the Ibeni is fixed, and]δῶ to be part of the name of the author cited in support of this location.

16 seq. It now appears to be the turn of the Kolaxi to be identified. The Cnidian author cited might be Ἐυδαῖος. Ἀγαθαρχίδης and Ἀρητᾶδης I should say were too long but I could not exclude Ktesias.

Col. ii 1 seqq. Comment on P ii 25 seqq.

8 Ἀταρνίδες. Atarneus a town and district on the Asia Minor coast opposite Lesbos. I can offer no explanation of the mention in this context of its female inhabitants. In fr. 35 there might be a similar reference to those of the neighbouring Pitana, though it seems more probable that there the Spartan Pitana is meant.

11 Not -α δι' ἀμβροσίαν, μάχονται therefore dubious.

12 Pind. *Nem.* ii 11, cf. Athen. 490 f.

16 '(must) take in this sense'.

25 The line νόκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε εἰριον corresponds to the line παγὼν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα in the preceding strophe, but if that is what was stated here it does not seem to have been stated accurately.

27 seq. Perhaps a reference back to P ii 7 seqq. Then ὥστε ἤλ[ιον] and μὴ ἐκ[λείπειν].

ἤμων would be easier to bring into a reconstruction and the second η in fr. 20, x has a similar first upright not projecting above the cross-bar, but to make η possible here it would be necessary to suppose that ink has run to left of the first upright.

Fr. 7

	(c)	.	.
	] κα[	.	.
	] τεστ[	.	.
	] με[	.	Fr. 8
	] εκ[	.	.
	.	.	]μεν.[
	.	.	]ωθεοιδε[
(a) Col. i	.	Col. ii	.
].[
	]φιλυλλαδαμαρε		εικ[
	]καθυποθεσινταν		ταδο.[
	]ησαιησιμβρο].[
5	]βον[		.

	(b)	.	.
	]α βλεπτη[	.	.
	]ουπας παρθ[	.	.
	]ραμε[.]ει.[	.	.
	]αλλαγησιχ[	.	.
5	]α καλλυφυροσαγη[	.	.
	]χωσεννυμηπαρο.[	.	.
	]ησαιησιχορασαλλ.[	.	.
	]αιοσιεανει[.]τη[	.	.
	]ησιουδεμμαν[	.	.
10	]εινπα[.]ενο[	.	.
	]επειρ[	.	.

FR. 7 (a) col. i + (b) no doubt formed part of the column following fr. 6 (c) col. ii. I believe that (a) may be located opposite fr. 6 ii 25 seqq. (c) is shown by the vertical fibres to have been in the same column as fr. 7 (a) col. ii. I am fairly confident that it stood above this, possibly opposite fr. 6 ii 7 seqq., though at such an interval identification of the cross-fibres can be no more than a speculation

(a) col. ii 2 .[, an upright
 (b) 3 .[, a slightly convex stroke 4], the top of a low upright 6 Of the first and last letters traces consistent with υ 8], a ligature or cross-bar joining the top of α 9], an upright with a trace of ink above it to the left, θ? 10], a high dot compatible with the tip of the upper right-hand arm of υ or χ

Fr. 7 (a) Col. i Comment on P iii 7 seqq.
 3 καθ' ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην cf. fr. 6 ii 29 κατά | λόγον τοιαύτων.
 (b) ι βλέπηι may refer to ποτιγλέποι P iii 7. ε]να might precede, but cannot be verified.
 2 τὰς λλοιασ παρθ]ένους.
 3 Ἐγηειχ]ρα με [τ]είρει, see l. 11. I think πα]ραμείν]ει. may be excluded.
 4 seqq. Comment on P iii 9 seqq. 'The poet does not mean that Agesichora is not there'—this seems to imply that the commentator did not take οὐ γὰρ . . . ἀτρέει as a question but as a statement not carrying its surface meaning—'but that if you go to Ainesimbrotia's you will not be able to find any girl, who . . .'. Such I take to be the general argument.
 10 παρ]θένον.
 11 μ]ε τε]ρει I believe to be the reading of P also, not τηρει.

Fr. 8 2 Perhaps refers to P iii 14 seq. αἰοί, δέξαθε.

		Fr. 9		
	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. i	
5				
10				

Fr. 9 Col i 2], the right-hand part of a slightly rising cross-stroke touching the top of ο
 11],, the right-hand part of a cross-bar touching the top of ο
 12 Of φ only the tip of the left-hand angle
 14],, traces of an upright much taller than usual, followed by an upright with a small loop at the top right-hand side, possibly ρ
 ρ made out of ε and ε sscr. by 1st hand
 ρ rubbed away except for the tip ρν might be φυ

[Addendum. Since the above was written a scrap has been inserted in the two last lines which makes them read:

μ]ηφοιαπατηθεις
]αγηραγβ]ιου[
 and puts the presence of Alcman, fr. 24 beyond doubt.]

Fr. 9 The argument is: X is our warrant for Alcman's being a Laconian when he writes 'rivalling Laconian Alcman'. Aristotle was misled by the words ' . . .' into supposing him a Lydian.

8 Perhaps τέκτρονα, cf. Pind. Pylh. iii 113. The quotation is unknown. Among other possibilities we may envisage that it is Pindar speaking of himself in a sentence of the same kind as 1604 fr. 1 ii 23 εμὲ δ' ἐξάφρονα κάρικα σοφῶν ἐπέων Μοῦσ' ἀνέσταξ'. ἀντίφρασις new, cf. Hesych. in ἀντιφ]άρα, ἀντιφάρεσ. The vocalization as in ἱσοφάριζειν () (ἀντιφερ]ίζειν).
 12 'Aristotle and', perhaps, on the strength of Suidas in Ἀλκμάν' . . . κατά δὲ τὸν Κράτηρα πρῶτοντα Λυδὸς ἐκ Κράτρου, 'Crates', δ τε Α. καὶ [δ Κράτης ἀντὼι σὺ]μψη[ος]. The same view I believe mentioned at fr. 6 i 11 seqq.
 14 The passage by which they were misled is preserved in Alcman fr. 24 (ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δευτέρου τῶν παρθενίων αἰσμάτων). Steph. Byz. there has οὐκ εἴς ἀνὴρ ἄγριος οὐδὲ κραιόες, changed by Bergk to ἄγριοκος on the strength of Chrysippus π. ἀποφατ. 21, but the truth is apparently preserved by Aristotle, Clouds 655 ἀγρείος εἰ καὶ κραιόες and this place, ἀν]ήρ ἀγρείος οὐδ]έ.
 [It seems to me obvious that in Alcman fr. 24, 4 the οὐδὲ before ἐρυσιαχοῦς must be deleted.]

		Fr. 10		Fr. 11

Fr. 10-11 The appearance of these two fragments resembles that of the middle part of fr. 6 (c), but the writing is smaller

Fr. 10 2 For φφ perhaps ηδ

	Fr. 12	Fr. 13	Fr. 14

Fr. 13 resembles fr. 7 (a) and I think may contain the beginnings of col. i 4 seqq., τ]ημ, τα]c

Fr. 12 The appearance resembles that of the lower right-hand side of fr. 6 (c)
 1 Δ tail as of α, λ, followed by the base of ε, ε
 3 No room for more than [i] .[, an upright

	Fr. 16	Fr. 17	Fr. 15

Fr. 15 1],, perhaps the first stroke of ω
 2],, perhaps the first stroke of β

Fr. 18

·
·
] κο.[
] κικ[
] φυ.[

Fr. 18 Perhaps from the same neighbourhood as fr. 1

1 ., a stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right
3 ., a dot on the line, λ possible

Fr. 19

·
·
].[
] κυοδ.[
] ε, ζων[
]..[

Fr. 19 2 ., an upright, η or ι
3 After ε, the tip of a tail below the line, ρ or υ
Some unexplained ink on the right-hand bar of τ
4 The top of an upright followed by the top left-hand arc of a circle, ις, ρς or the like

Fr. 20

·
·
] ηνημερα[
] α.[

Fr. 20 in some respects resembles fr. 7 (a) col. i but does not join it so that]ηνημερα[ν... δαμ|αρ|ε is to be read

Fr. 21

·
·
] απ[
[]
] ανθω[
] αν[
5] φυλα.[

Fr. 21 4 ., a dot level with the top of a 5 ., perhaps the extreme left-hand of ξ, but ζ more like the ink

Fr. 22

·
·
] ελιας ..[
] νεπενε[
] ετροποτη[
] παισανεν[

Fr. 22 1 ., the lower half of ξ or ζ followed by the lower part of a stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right
3 ., the tail of α or λ

Fr. 23

·
·
ποδ[
ρουσαντ[
δε cφυ[
φν...[
5] υ[

Fr. 23 4 υ by correction (ex ι ?)
It is followed by the apex of a letter like α, the tops of two uprights, the second taller than the first, possibly ν, and the upper left-hand arc of a circle
5 Above and to left of υ the ends of two parallel horizontal lines

Fr. 24

·
·
] αλέικ[
] ετο[

Fr. 24 1 ., a small hook above the level of the letters, perhaps κ or χ ε presumably meant to be cancelled, ι rubbed and faint

Fr. 25

Col. i	Col. ii
· ·] φεσι	· ·].[
] ανδι	ο[
] ηκε	χ[
] ον	5 τ[
5] εοι	θ[
] νι	γ[
· ·	τ[

Fr. 25 Col. i 1 φ made on another letter
2 ., a dot on the line
3 ., perhaps the edge of the loop of ρ
Col. ii 1 The left-hand angle of δ, ξ or the like
7 For γ, possibly π

Fr. 26

· · ·
]·[
]ρδ· · · ιε δια[

Fr. 26 1 Perhaps more probably part of an interlinear letter belonging to the next line 2 After δ an upright followed at an interval by a spot of ink level with its top, e.g. φ or ι. The next trace suggests ν, though this does not account for ink between it and the following ι

Fr. 27

· · ·
]ε[
]ην[
 · · ·

Fr. 28

· · ·
]·λκ[
 · · ·

Fr. 29

· · ·
]ε
]ει
]ε
 · · ·

Fr. 30

· · ·
]·θε[
]τηςε[
]του[
]·[
 · · ·

Fr. 30 1]·, the top and bottom of an upright followed by a dot on the line, perhaps only one letter, e.g. η 4 The top of a circle

Fr. 31

· · ·
]ησα·[
]θηκέν[
]ω[· · ·][
 · · ·

Fr. 31 2 Above ε perhaps a small ο 3]·[, perhaps parts of two letters, ο

Fr. 32

· · ·
]δεφα[
]αυξή· · ·[
 γαρ[
]αταμεντη[
]κουεινμους·[
 5]μωτερα[
], αηδονος·[
]τηςμελοπ[
]σαιωστοσε·[
]σειρ· · · ας·[
 10]·[
 · · ·

Fr. 32 2 After η possibly the uprights of π, followed by the foot of another upright 6]·, the right-hand part of a cross-bar touching the top of an upright, perhaps]ηι·[, an upright with top turning slightly over to the right and traces opposite the middle; ε not suggested, perhaps β or ρ 8]·[, perhaps the top part of ο or the first apex of μ 9 ην possible but not verifiable]·[, the tip of an upright inclining slightly to left

Fr. 33

· · ·
]ησαρχω[
]ν ουδευπερβρο[
]νειακσιανδε·[
]μουσησης[
 5]ρς[
 · · ·

Fr. 33 3]·[, the foot of an upright

Fr. 34

· · ·
]·ψ[
]οστραπ[
]ρσυν[
]· · · ·[
 · · ·

Fr. 34 1]·, possibly η but perhaps ρ or υ followed by γ or ι a more satisfactory interpretation of the ink

Col. ii Lines 14–20 are obviously concerned with the various applications of the name *Χαλκιδεῖς* and this theme may have begun earlier since there are *Χαλκιδεῖς* in Ionia (l. 11?) and a *Χαλκίς* in Thessaly (confused with the Aetolian, e.g. by the commentators on Dion. *περιηγ.* 496) as well; see for the first Strabo 644, for the second Dion. *περιηγ.* 496. Interwoven with it appears to be a discussion about warlike peoples (*μάχιμοι* ll. 10, 17 and see note on l. 20).

12 seqq. οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἠπειροῦ |]Χάονας, Θεσπρωτοῦς, |]. . . ιουε. We are told on the authority of Theopompus (Strabo 323) that there were 14 Epeirote tribes. I cannot recognize with certainty the third of the names occurring here. Since it most probably ends in -αιο-, I should guess *Κακω]θαίουε*. 14 seq. Eust. in Dion. *περιηγ.* 764 shows that the inhabitants of *Χαλκηδών* might be referred to as *Χαλκιδεῖς*. Cf. 803.

15 seq. εἰς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Θράκηι Χαλκιδεῖς, the inhabitants of *Χαλκιδική*. *μρ* is presumably the beginning of a proper name. There is not much choice in such and I find none relevant. About the same number of letters is missing in ll. 15–16. There is a number of references to Chalcidians and Chalcidice in the extant fragments of Theopompus but they throw no light on this.

16 seqq. ἔστι καὶ Αἰτωλίας |]μάχιμοι] γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πάντες[|]τῆς Αἰτωλικῆς Χαλκιδεῖς | οὐ] "Ομη(ρος)]εὶ λέγω(ν)· Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγ[χιάλον. The reference is to *Iliad* ii 640; cf. Strabo 447.

20 *Χαλκιδεῖς* [το]ῦς ἐν Εὐβοίαι. Eust. in Dion. *περιηγ.* 473 says ταύτης δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος οἱ πολῖται ἀνδρείοι ἐκτόρηται (cf. his note on *Il.* ii 537). They may, therefore, have been a third example of *μάχιμοι* here.

2390. COMMENTARY ON ALCMAN, ETC.

The fragments here collected all seem to be in one hand, but this hand is in itself far from regular in the size and structure of its letters and between some fragments and others there are wide variations in its appearance. Besides the commentary on Alcman, which can be certainly recognized in the largest fragment and may be considered with probability to be represented in several others, there is reason to suspect the presence of a commentary on an Ionic text (fr. 50 (a)–(d)), and if there are parts of more than one manuscript it is not possible to say how many manuscripts there are. But the question is of no practical importance, most of the scraps being too small to hang any interpretation on. Fr. 2, in which alone it has been possible to combine a considerable number of small scraps, contains in its second column tantalizing references to at least one and possibly three historical Spartan figures, but I do not know that anything can be deduced from them about the relative date of Alcman, of which we should be glad to have exacter knowledge.

The writing, as has been said, is irregular in size and structure and though not a cursive contains a certain number of cursive forms and ligatures. I suppose it to be assignable to the second century.

		Fr. 1	
(a) Col. i		Col. ii	
		]	λρ.[
	]. . . [	]	οισ[
	]ουπολυδε[	]	ο[
	]ρχας οδεξο		
5	]ωρεωτου		
	]ος . ηνεξο		
	]γ απεφευ		
	] εβλαιψεν		
	]λυδευκησ		
10	]νητανσα		
	]. αιγγητ[
	]. αιστη[
	]αυτα[
(b)]. []. [
	]. φροναλα		
	]. ρωναλλη		
	]αγερωχε	]ηαυ[
5	]ιστοδικη	]κοφ[
	]. βλεφαρων [	]τ[
	]τοσονει [	]ν[
	]ρωνμου [
	]. ουκει. [
] [
		(d)	
			]. εω[
			]πευσ[
(c)			]γγ. . [
			]νωτω[
]. . . [
	]. τ φοιβα[.]ωνεσ[
	]στηντωνφοιβισω[
	]ναλαμβανομ[
5	]. νωσσ αλλα[	(e)	]. λαιφ[
	]στι κυμφορ. [		]ωναπ[
			]ν ειταω[

Fr. 1 (a)-(e) The appearance of these five fragments suggests that they come from the same neighbourhood. (a) col. i may well be, within a line or two, the top and (b) col. i the bottom of the same column, though I am not sure that they do not actually touch, in which case the absence of any trace of writing below the last line of (b) col. i, where it seems that enough papyrus remains to have shown it, is deceptive. (c) closely resembles (b) on both sides but I cannot make up my mind whether it is more likely to have stood on its right or its left. (d) and (e) I should guess stood to the right of (a) and (b).

(a) Col. i 2 The indications suit, e.g., the lower parts of *αγρ* 3, the tip of the left-hand branch of *ν* suggested 6, the top of a stroke descending left to right followed at an interval by a dot just below the tops of the letters 7 After *γ* the top of a stroke descending left to right and at an interval the bottom of a stroke descending left to right; *γμρ* possible 8, a trace of the upper right-hand side of a loop, perhaps *ρ* 9, the right-hand arc of *ο, ω* 11, the top of a stroke compatible with *α*

(b) Col. i 2 Above *φρ* a short vertical stroke, apparently neither an interlinear letter nor the tail of a letter in the previous line 3, a curved stroke on the line, possibly the tail of *α* 5 The slope of the top of] suggests that it may have been attached to the preceding letter 6, the right-hand arc of *ο, ω* 9, traces suggesting the top and bottom of the right-hand side of *π* (or *ξ*?) [, the top part of a stroke curving slightly to right and the extreme tip of a second; *μ* not suggested

(c) 1 [, the tail of a letter like *α* followed by the lower left-hand arc of a circle. There may be no letter missing between these two and the next three,] . . . [, which are represented by a hook on the line and two long hooked tails, as of *φ* and some specimens of *ρ* The last three might be]στ[in which case nothing is missing, or]ρ[in which case a letter is lost in the gap 6 [, the top of a stroke compatible with *α*

(d) 3 . . [, an upright followed by a curved stroke, e.g. *ις*, but *η* perhaps not excluded

(e) 1 There may be two letters before *λ*, the first represented only by the extreme tip of a stroke descending to the line from left to right

Fr. 1 (a) The mention of Polydeukes (ll. 3, 9) in conjunction with 'sisters' (ll. 10-11) suggests that here is part of a commentary on a passage relating to the Dioscuri and Leucippides. Cf. 2389 fr. 4. L. 5 might then contain the name *Κάκτ]ωρ*.

(b) 4 *ἀγέρωχος*, we are informed, was used for *σεμνός* by Alcman (fr. 122). In an unpublished text there is what appears to be a quotation from him containing the words *ἀγέρωχος κήρατος χοραγός*.

(c) 2 seq. *Φοίβαιος* would be more correctly a derivative of Phoebe (one of the Leucippides) than of Phoebus, but what Pausanias calls the *Φοίβαιον* appears in Herodotus as *Φοιβήτιον ἱερόν* (a temple at Therapne, Paus. iii 14, 9-10 *et al.*; Hdt. vi 61). If *τὴν τῶν Φοιβαίων ἐορτήν* was mentioned, we have no record of what the *Φοίβαια* were.

Fr. 2

Col. ii

Col. iii

Col. iv

		.ου[	.ρ.[
		.ν ουδ.[	πανιων...[
		.αρασταθεισα.[	τις εκδετωπ[
		.ηναφροδιτηρθει	κμωρεγενετρο[
5		ων[c. 12 ll.]υρανιωναναγει	μο[.εντευθενε,[
		νασκει[c. 8 ll.]καταγενηκη	ποροναποτησπορ.[...][
		ουδειει[c. 6 ll.]ψεταιπλησιονχρυσου	ωσαρηρξεταιοηληκατασκευ.[
		σταςαν[...].]εγξεισεχρυσοςαλλα	εγενετροποροστισιονιουαρχη.[
		δισοικεαυτων ουγαρποληνημωκα	ουνοαλκμαντηνυληνηπα[
10		.]κοσμηρηπεθανδρων ου[αγριος ε[]	ραγμηνηκαιαποητον ειτα[
		..εναντ...ταε...ριονουκ/πολυπη[]	σβαιναψηρινονκατασκευ.[
		μονοκαλαισ[...].]λλευθαμινουδαγριος[]	πανταειταχενεσβα[...].]ροντη[
		αλλαημερος γυνδ[ε]μστωδαμινος	ρουπαρελθοντασεπακολουθη[...].][
		ε ^ω τουτα[...].]αρισταν λειωτιχιδασ	κμωρκαι/ομ'ποροσιοιναρχητοδετει
15		.]ακεδα[...].]βασι.ευσ αδηλονδε	κμωριονιτελοςτησβετιδοςγενο
		.]γαταρητημασιμβροτα	μνησαρχηκαιει[...].]απαντανε
		.]αιτ.ρος φυανδε...εν[]	γενει[...].]οκαιτα...παν...[...].]ανεχει
		.]αιδι ανθρωπολυδω[...].]ω[]	τηνφυγεινητηνταυ.αλκρ.υληγηδε
		.]εωτηχιδαυιοσεστιται[]	βetic[...].]τουτεχνιτου οδεποροσκαιτοτε
20	Col. i	.]βασιλε[...].]υδερου[...].]υδερου[...].]	κμωρητηρχηκαιτωιτελει προσχ[] [
		.]φωροσκαιτιμ[...].]βροτα	δ'α'προσβυτης καιτρινονκοτος[]
		θυγα[c. 7 ll.]...λιςσομαι[...].]ωνμα	διατομηδεσμιμητηηλιονμητεςε[]
		λιςτε[c. 6 ll.]...casuper[...].]ατρος	.]ηνηγγεγονεναιαλλετιαδιακριτ[...].]ρ[]
		τησε[c. 6 ll.]...ντιδων...υ[...].]ρος/	.]ηνυληγγεγονενοτουνουπο[...].]...σο[]
25		δυμα[c. 5 ll.]...τραδυμα[...].]εταν	ροσκαιεκαμωρκαιεκο[...].]...[]
		τηνητωιδ[...].]μανφυ[...].]κθη	τεκαιεσλανακαιτρινονκοτος τα[]
		[...].]μεθαδε[...].]ουντα[...].]ε.σας	μαρμαρυγας αμαροφυλιωαλλα[]
		τωνλοισ[...].]...ac γη[...].]μουσαι[]	συνηλιωιτομηπρωτε.ρη ηρκκοτοςμο[]
		θυγατεραςωσιμιμνε[...].]τασει[]	νομμεταδεταυταδιακριθει[...].]...ζαντων []

Fr. 2 Col. i 23 [α] compatible with the traces but of α only the base of the loop, of ρ only the second upright and the extreme top and bottom of the first 27], the lower right-hand arc of the first 28], an upright with foot hooked to left, ν suggested 29 If ε, one would expect to see part of the upper arm; perhaps λ

Col. ii τ], the tip of a stroke touching the top left-hand side of ο, e.g. ε 2], ε not suggested, but not impossible 4], the foot of an upright, compatible with τ 17], a spot on the line followed by the foot of an upright; possibly parts of two letters Between δε and εν the upper right-hand arc of a circle with a horizontal stroke close below, followed by the top and foot of an upright and perhaps a trace of the top left-hand arc of a circle 20 The space would probably admit of [το]υ After ρυ the top of an upright and after an interval a spot on the line compatible with the tail of α; κ[ρ]α would suit both the ink and the space 22], a dot level with the tops of the letters; the following α is represented only by the top of a stroke descending left to right, at the same level 23], α, a stroke descending from left to right suggesting λ, but I cannot say μ is excluded 27], the base of a circular letter 29 The space seems to exclude αυ]ραc

Fr. 2

Col. ii

Col. iii

		.ου[	.ρ.[
		.ν ουδ.[	παντων...[
		.αρασταθεισαν	τις εκ δε τα π[τε-
		.ην Αφροδιτην Θε-	κμωρ εγενετο τ[
5		ων[και Τ]υρανιων αναγι-	μα[] εντευθεν ει.[
		νωςκου[ει χρωσα] κατα γενικην, εν' ηι-	πορον απο της πορ.[...].]
		ουδε εις [σε]ηεται πλησιον χρυσοϋ	ως γαρ ηρξατο η υλη κατασκευα[εθνηνα
		στασαν ου[δε] ε[ε]α[ε]γεξει σε χρυσος, αλλα	εγενετο πορος τις ολονει αρχη. [
		διασεις αυτων. ου γαρ πολυτημων Κα-	ουδ' ονδ' Αλκαμαν την υλην πα[τετα-
10		λα]υκος ανηρ πεδ' ανδρων ου[δ'] αγριος' ε[κ	ραγμηνη και αποητον. ειτα]γενε-
		του εναντιου το εναντιον. ουκ εστι πολυτη-	σβαι τινα φησιν τον κατασκευα[ζοντα
		μων ο Κάλαιος ε]λλ' ευδαίμων ουδ' αγριος	παντα, ειτα γενεσθαι [πδ]ρον, του [δε πό-
		αλλα ημερος. νυν δ' ιομες τα δαιμονος	ρου παρελθόντος επακολουθη[σαι] τέ-
		εω(ς) του παι[...].]αριςταν Λεωτυχιδας	κμωρ. και εστιν ο μεν πορος ολον αρχη το δε τε-
15		Α]ακεδαμω[ων βασιλευς. αδηλον δε	κμωρ οιονει τελος. της Θετιδος γενο-
		θ]υγατηρ η Τιμασιμβροτα	μένης αρχη και τε[λ]ω[ς]...a πάντων ε-
		.]αι τυνος. φυαν δε...εν[]	γενει[τ]ο και τα...παντ[...].]αν εχει
		π]αιδι ξανθω Πολυδω[ρ]ω[]	την φύσει της του χαλκού υλη, η δε
		.]Λεωτυχιδα υιος εστι του	Θετις τ[η] του τεχνιτου, ο δε πορος και το τε-
20		Λακεδαμωνιων]βασιλε[ω]υ[δ]εου[...].]	κμωρ της αρχης και τωι τελε. πρέγ[υ]c
		Πολυδω]ρος και Τιμασιμβροτα	δε αντι του προσβυτης. και τρίτον εκότος'
		θυγα[τηρ].] α Λισομαι τ[]ων μά-	διά το μηδέπω μήτε ηλιον μήτε ce-
		λιςτα[]]μας υπερ[]]ατρος	λη]νην γεγονόνα αλλ' επι διδικριτ[ο]ν εινα
		της τ[αν]ντιδων φυλ[η]ς]ρος (εστι)	τ]ην υλην. εγενοντο ουν υπο[...].]... πό-
25		Δυμα[]]τρα Δυμα[...].] εν δ]ε ταδ-	ρος και τέκμωρ και εκότος[...].] άμαρ
		τηι τηι ωιδ[η] Αλ]κμαν φυε[...].] εκθη-	τε και σελάνα και τρίτον εκότος. ταc
		[...].]μεθαδε[...].]ροκοντα η[...].]μετά τας	μαρμαρυγας άμαρ ου ψιλως αλλά
		των λοιπων ...]ραc. Γη[...].] Μούσαιc	ου ηλίωι. το μεν πρότερον ην εκότος μό-
		θυγατερας ως Μιμνερμος]τασει[]	νον, μετά δε ταυτα διακριθει]τοc αυτου

Col. iii 2 ...], a dot level with the tops of the letters followed by the hooked foot of an upright, possibly ν; next a horizontal stroke on the line with suggestions of a stroke rising from its left-hand end, e.g. δ; of the third letter only a faint trace on the line 5], the left-hand end of a stroke level with the top of ε, e.g. π, τ 6], the top of an upright 8], a dot above the level of the letters 16 αμ]α perhaps sufficient for the space 17 After τα what most resembles the lower right-hand parts of β followed by the bottom half of κ; εκ can hardly be read and does not seem to suit the sense], the top of an upright with a suggestion of a stroke touching the top left-hand side;], ι might be read 18 χαλκου unsatisfactory. The first letter was originally κ but this was either cancelled or converted to χ; of the last only the hooked lower half is preserved. I do not understand the purpose of the interlinear λ 20 [uc not]ραc prescribed by the length of the other lines 24 [...], a cross-bar, as of τ, followed at an interval by what might be interpreted as α and this by another cross-bar as of τ, but I am not sure that the presumed α is not parts of two letters, viz. αυ, and that between υπο and πο ταυτο should not be read

Fr. 2 Col. ii 4 seqq. *Θέων . . . καὶ Τυραννίων*. The first may be supposed to be the Augustan grammarian, 'son of Artemidorus' (*El. Mag.* 144, 55; colophon of an unpublished commentary on the *Pythians*), whose activities are known to have consisted largely of commenting on poetical texts, though nothing on Alcman is recorded. The second may be either the approximately contemporary younger Tyrannio or his master, Cicero's friend, the elder Tyrannio. Neither of these, to judge by the list of their works given in Suidas, who confuses them, wrote commentaries on particular texts, but either more general (e.g. on orthography) or more special (e.g. on Homeric accentuation) treatises.

'Theon . . . and Tyrannio read *χρυσῶ* in the genitive, to give the sense: . . .'. To judge by *παραστραβεῖσαν*, l. 3, and *πλησίον χρυσοῦ στᾶσαν*, ll. 7 seqq., no more need be meant than that they preferred *χρυσῶ πέλας*, say, to *χρυσῶν πέλας*. (Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii 18 seq. *Ἀείας . . . πέλας ἐμβόλοι: πλησίον τοῦ ἐμβόλου τῆς . . . Ἀείας*.) Though the blank before οὐδ [l. 2, implies that the lemma began there, I do not think it would be justifiable to assume that *παραστραβεῖσαν* need be part of it and not, like *πλησίον . . . στᾶσαν*, part of the paraphrase.

9 *δοίσεις*: I see no usual employment of *διαφέρειν* which seems suitable here. 'You will repulse it' should be *διάσει*.

πολυπύμων 'having many hurts' seems not to recur till Manetho and I suspect the interpretation. 'Not hurtful nor harsh' is *prima facie* the likelier meaning of the words.

Κάλαιος: the ending as in *Λύκαιον*, Louvre parth. col. i 2. Cf. *Καλαυλις* Theoc. v 15.

13 *ἴμωες*: 'let us go', an epic form with dialectally adapted ending.

14 *παῖδων* ἀρίστην, referring presumably to the Timasimbrotā mentioned below.

14 seqq., 19 seqq. In the Eurypontid genealogy preserved at Hdt. vii 131 a Leotyichidas occurs sixteenth in descent from Heracles, and according to Rhianus (ap. Paus. iv 15, 2) a Leotyichidas was king of Sparta at the beginning of the second Messenian war. The only son of this king of whose name we know is Hippocratidas (Hdt. l.c.). I should gather from the commentary that the names of both Leotyichidas and his son appeared in the lemma of which the beginning and end are given, but that the son was Hippocratidas we cannot tell.

15 seqq. *ἄβηλον δὲ . . .*: I should guess the expression of an uncertainty whether Leotyichidas was the father of Timasimbrotā. In ll. 20 seqq. she seems to have a different father assigned to her, Eurykrates.

17 Although it is by no means the reading that would first suggest itself and remains unverifiable, I think it is not impossible that *φύαν δ' εὐ[]κεν* should be posited. 'He', perhaps Kalaisos, 'resembles in *φύα* . . . the yellow-haired child of . . .'

18 It cannot be established whether *δωρω* or *δωρω[]* was written. The choice will depend on what was written in ll. 20 seqq., which itself is uncertain.

20 seqq. In the Agiad genealogy at Hdt. vii 204 a Polydorus and his son Eurykrates occur in the fourteenth and fifteenth places in descent from Heracles. Polydorus was contemporary with Theopompus, twelfth from Heracles in the other house, king of Sparta in the first Messenian war. If *παῖδι ξανθῷ Πολυδώρῳ* is read in l. 18 and if ll. 20 seqq. are supplemented to the effect that the father of Eurykrates is Polydorus (and his daughter Timasimbrotā), the two of the text can be equated with the two of the genealogy. But it must be emphasized that the commentary gives no hint that any royal persons are in question, except Leotyichidas; that *τουσπατηροπολυδ* is too long for the available space at the beginning of l. 21, unless *πατηρ* was abbreviated; and that if *δωρω[]* is to be read in l. 18 and *υἱός* for *πατήρ* in l. 21, the relationship is inverted and the equivalence with the persons of the Agiad genealogy precluded. It seems possible that the poem itself made it admissible to refer to a character's father and daughter, which otherwise strikes me as a peculiar way of identifying him.

21 *Τυμαμυβρότα*: for names of this form cf. Louvre parth. col. iii 5, 2388 fr. 1, 9.

22 The context no less than the coronis shows that a new piece begins.

τ[]ων: *π[]ων* requires a forced interpretation of the ink before the gap, but τ itself is somewhat anomalous and π is perhaps admissible.

23 In view of what follows at ll. 28 seqq. it may be as well to say, that, though *ματρός* could be accepted, γαc cannot be read for cac, in spite of surface damage which has destroyed the lower part of the first c.

24 seqq. Perhaps *χ]ορός ἐστι*, in which case this may be a statement of the composition of the chorus. There is a collocation of *Δύμαιναι* and *Πιτανάτιδες* in 2389 fr. 35 col. i, but though I cannot say

that the traces of ink over τ are not α, this letter is to the right of the position it should have, if meant to be inserted between ν and τ, and besides it may be questioned whether a *φολή* would be defined by its female members.

τ[]ρα puts one in mind of *πάτρα*, i.e. *φρατρία*, but I do not know how suitable this word is to Spartan institutions.

25 seqq. There can be no doubt of the content: *ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὠιδῇ Ἀλκμᾶν φυσιολογεῖ. ἐκθησάμεθα δὲ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἡμῖν κτλ.*, but, as a result of the fact that this part of the column has had to be reconstituted from scraps which may not have been attached with exact accuracy, there appears in some places to be insufficient space for the supplements. Except that *φυσιολογεῖ* may have been abbreviated, I believe difficulties to be illusory.

'I shall state my view' *μετὰ τὰς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκφοράς*. I have no plausible suggestion. I could make something of *μετὰ τὰς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκφοράς*, 'at the end of the rest of my remarks about the piece', but I have no belief that this is what was written.

28 seq. The sense is given by Diod. iv 7 *ὄλγοι δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν* (fr. 119), *θυγατέρας ἀποφαίνονται (τὰς Μούσας) Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς*; Paus. ix 29, 4 *Μίμνερμος δὲ φησὶν* (fr. 13) . . . *θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιοτέρας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας*; Schol. Pind. *Nem.* iii 16 *ὁ δὲ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Μοῦσαν δέδεται, καθάπερ Μίμνερμος καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν ἱστοροῦσιν*.

29 *ἐγ[]νεαλόγησε*.

Col. iii 3 Perhaps *ἐκ δὲ τῷ πόρω*. Before it, [*Θέ[]* would be a long shot.

8 seq. I suppose, *ἄγεται | οὐν κτλ.*, although this does not properly account for the trace of ink after *ἀρχῆ*.

17 All that seems to be necessary is *τὰ μὲν πάντα* but I cannot read this. I should have confidently expected *ὅμοιαν* (though *ἀπὰ λόγον* would express the relation more accurately), but there is no question that it was not written.

24 Nothing better occurs to me than *ὑπὸ ταυτῷ*, which I suppose might mean 'simultaneously'. The commentator's style is rather rambling, I suspect that there is at least one error in the text, and I cannot be sure of the reading in some places that appear to be important for following the sense.

The following interpretation therefore may misrepresent Alcman's cosmogonical speculations. In the beginning there was the *ἄλη*, i.e. the undifferentiated (ll. 9 seqq., 23). Since Alcman certainly did not use this name, what name did he use? I should have expected it at l. 17, where nothing but *πάντα* is recognizable. Next there came into being an organizer of the *ἄλη*, who is rather surprisingly called Thetis,¹ then *πόρος*, the 'way of contriving' things or 'beginning', then *τέκμων*, 'boundary' or 'end'. The relation of 'Thetis' to 'matter' put in another way (ll. 17 seqq.) is that of the artificer to the bronze in which he works. It will be recalled that in the Louvre parthenion col. i 13 seqq. *Αἶσα* and *Πόρος* appear to be referred to as 'the most aged' of the gods and a scholion there equates *Πόρος* with Hesiod's *Χάος*. A reference to *Theogon.* 116 seqq. shows that in the poem here commented on *Πόρος* occupies a quite different position. In Hesiod Chaos *πρώτιστα . . . γένηται*, here *Πόρος* (though no doubt *πρέσβυς*, l. 20, applies to it) is subsequent to the *ἄλη* and to Thetis. This would leave *Χάος* free to represent undifferentiated matter, but there is no sign that it was used. From the fact that the *ἄλη* was undifferentiated, it follows that there was 'darkness' over all (l. 23). It is not strictly logical to associate this darkness 'as a third' with *πόρος* and *τέκμων*, since it must have preceded even 'Thetis', and I should have thought it poetically impossible to associate it *again* 'as a third' with 'day', i.e. sunlight, and 'moon'. But if it did not occur in both places, I can offer no cogent argument for preferring it in the one rather than the other.

26 seq. *τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς*. If this is a lemma, I do not know what it is doing here. If it is an interpretation, 'twinklings', of *ἄμαρ* (*ἐν ἡλίῳ*) καὶ *κελάνα*, as which it is not specially helpful, I do not know why it is in the accusative.

¹ It would not have surprised Pott. See *Zeitsch. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* viii 174 (ref. from Roscher in *Thetis*, col. 793). Cf. also, though this is of a rather different order, Schol. B in *Il.* i 399.

Fr. 3

. . .
]. . . [
]. ημ. [
]. απιχ. . . [
]ρνπαρδ. [
 5]νωδε. [
]ευαα. [
]κεμ. [
 . . .

Fr. 3 appears to come from the centre of the upper part of fr. 2 col. ii
 1 Perhaps πλ deleted or νλ with the ink of the cross-stroke of ν run 2], a hook on the line,
 e.g. π], possibly the left-hand curve of ω 3], perhaps the bottom right-hand angle of ν Of
 π only the feet, but γϕ seems less likely After χ apparently the upper part of η or ν The ink at the
 end recalls the angle of a 'filler', not a letter, but the 'filler' does not occur elsewhere in this piece
 4 ρ not satisfactory but I do not think ρ preferable 5], the top of a circle, c probable 6],
 perhaps c

Fr. 4

. . .
]. . . [
]λαπα[

Fr. 4 Perhaps from fr. 2 col. ii
 1], the tail of α, λ, or the like 2 Of α[only the end of the loop

Fr. 5

. . .
]. . . μ[
]ντω[
]αντ. [
 . . .

Fr. 5 Apparently from the neighbourhood of the left-hand side of fr. 2
 1]. . ., a hook off the line followed by the bottom end of an upright below the line

Fr. 6

. . .
]τωπι [
 . . .

Fr. 6 Apparently from the neighbourhood
 of the right-hand side of fr. 2

Fr. 8

. . .
]ρ[
]. εκ. [
]. α. [
]δ. [
 5]. [
 . . .

Fr. 8-9 may come from the neighbourhood
 of fr. 2 col. iv

Fr. 8 2], the middle part of an upright
], the lower part of an upright 3], an
 upright with foot hooked to the right, perhaps π
], the upper part of a tall upright, e.g. φ, ψ
 5 A cross-stroke as of π

Fr. 10

. . .
]οσακο. [
]. οτε. [
 . . .

Fr. 10 1], a dot level with the tops of the
 letters, ν possible

Fr. 12

. . .
]. [
]αφε. [. . .] [
]ρ. [
 . . .

Fr. 12 2 Of α only the tail, of ε only the
 top 3 ρ perhaps the loop of ρ], the
 upper end of a stroke descending to right

Fr. 7

. . .
]. . . ε. [
]ακαπ[
 . . .

Fr. 7 Perhaps from the neighbourhood of
 fr. 2 col. iii
 1 Perhaps], ρε], an upright with a stroke
 crossing the top, π or perhaps τ

Fr. 9

. . .
]αε[
]ουα. [. . .] [
]ωεπερ[
]κατω[
 5]ενω[
]αμ[
 . . .

Fr. 9 2 After α a hook to the right on the
 line

Fr. 11

. . .
]αγκα[
 . . .

Fr. 13

. . .
]. . . [
]σαπλα. [
]. . . c. . . [
 . . .

Fr. 13 1], the lower part of ε or c 2],
 traces of an upright 3], the tip of the
 upper curve of ε or c suggested After c perhaps
 the top and part of the loop of α, then at an
 interval the tip of an upright

Fr. 10-13 also may come from the neigh-
 bourhood of the left-hand side of fr. 2

Fr. 14

]οφθ[.].[
¹⁻
 π. ιονολ[
 διφν. απαν[
]...ρ. αγωγων[
 5]...εχεμ.[
]εισφερειδ.[
]...ετοβ[
]...ιως[

Fr. 17

]...πας[
]εξεβεβ[
]...σετονπ[
]...ιδωρα[

Fr. 20

]φμπ[
]...ελ.[
]ρο.[
]ραλλκ[
 5]ομασπα[
]εμντε[

Fr. 15

]...ν[
 λμ[

Fr. 18

]...ι.[.].[
]...γων.[
]...λιτ.[
 5]...ορμη[
]...[

Fr. 21

]ων[
]...[

Fr. 16

]εκρομ[
]...πανεμ[
]...ο[

Fr. 19

]...ρον[
]...οτι.[
]...ται[
]...αϊ.[
 5]...τετ[
]...κτα[
]...ληκ[

Fr. 22

]...ο[
]...νιαλ[
]...σε.[

Fr. 14 1]... below the line the start of a stroke rising to the right 2 After π perhaps the bases of λε 3 After ν a trace below the line 4 All that remains of the first letter looks like a stroke rising from left to right, of the second a stroke descending from left to right, the third is represented by the top left-hand arc of a small circle After ρ the lower part of an upright with a foot hooked to the right, e.g. ι, ρ Not, I think, μυριαγ, though I cannot rule it out 5], a short horizontal stroke slightly below the line], perhaps the back of a circular letter 6], ink resembling a comma with a large head 7], δ or λ 8], a trace level with the tops of the letters

Fr. 16 3], a horizontal stroke on the line with the right-hand arc of a circle above it, the β, ζ, or ξ of this hand not suggested

Fr. 17 1], ν or a combination like α, λ, probable There is ink above the right-hand side of φ; if it belongs to this line, τ, must be read for π 2 Of]ε only the end of the cross-stroke; θ possible

Fr. 18 1], the end of a cross-stroke level with the top of ι 2], the end of a cross-stroke just below the top of γ 3], the lower end of a stroke descending from left], ι or ρ 5 There may be parts of five letters. If the second was ω, the third, which may have been cancelled or corrected, was perhaps ρ; at the end μ likely but perhaps λ, possible

Fr. 19 2], perhaps part of a circle 4], the left-hand loop of φ?

Fr. 20 1 Or τφ[? 2], a hook on the line followed by a short stroke ascending from left to right], a stroke ascending from left to right 3], a short upright off the line

Fr. 23

]...αλλειγα[
]...α καιτοη[
]...πωνεστιδ[
]...νθε..[

Fr. 24

]...εμασφ[
]...ωπυροσ[

Fr. 26

] [[] []
]...α[
]...και []
]...ιφσ []

Fr. 26 1 Not certainly the upper margin 2], perhaps ρ but η, π not excluded 4 ρ anomalous, but I see no other combination to produce something likelier

Fr. 25

]...αρκε[
]...φιδετρον []
]...ωρνυ []
]...ερτε. ν []
 5]...ας []
]...πα[]

Fr. 25-26 evidently come from the same neighbourhood

Fr. 25 1 Unaccounted for ink, like an acute, over the first stroke of κ, which is itself anomalous 2], μ possible but only the extreme tip of the tail preserved

Fr. 27

]...ης []
]...επιπο[]
]...ννυ []
 [] []
 5]... []
]...φουν[]

Fr. 27 2], perhaps the overhang of c 3 The ink at the end recalls no letter of this hand and may not be part of the text 6], a dot on the line, α, λ, μ, among the possibilities

Fr. 28

]οεμ.ειεμ[
]εγιστορ[
]ω λεγει[
]περιγγ[
 5]αιγα[
]ον εν.[
]ριπαρα[
]. χρ.[

Fr. 28 6], traces of an upright 7 ρ has a very small loop and may be meant for ρ
 8] ,, a dot level with the tops of the letters, e.g. the overhang of ε], perhaps a circular letter

Fr. 29

]. λι. . . ν[
]. ρ ετεκ[
]περτεα[
]. εο. απρο.[
 5]δενυμ[
]ετισμαν[
]τασησφ.[

Fr. 29 1], perhaps the right-hand part of α, but off the line and otherwise anomalous; ε no more likely After ι the foot of an upright sloping slightly to right, a trace on the line, ο or the lower right-hand part of ω, the start of a stroke rising to right, the upper part of an upright 2], ink resembling the lower part of a small ε, but not ε of this hand 4], a trace suggesting the top of a circle After εο the top of an upright The ink interpreted as αν might be otherwise combined, e.g. ν], a trace (of a circle?) level with the tops of the letters 6 Of α only the extreme left-hand and right-hand parts 7 Of τ only parts of the cross-stroke; π may be possible, or two letters may be represented], the middle of a stroke descending from left to right, perhaps part of a circular letter

Fr. 30

], βοια[] [
]κακιζεν/κυ[
]. εινκαταλιμ[
]ιθμουαυλο[
 5]εταιυλο[
]. . δαμμο.[

Fr. 30 1], a trace compatible with the tip of the right-hand branch of υ 3], probably α but I cannot exclude μ 5 The υ is anomalous and may have been made out of an original ι 6], ,, possibly αν but very cramped], a dot on the line

2 Perhaps a note on κιδάζειν (-εσθαι).

Fr. 31

]ηνευδ[
]βοιαν[
] [

Fr. 32

]. εκ.[.]. [
]δε. . . ιππ[
]. εξετορ[
]. λη [
 5]. . . αε [

Fr. 32 1].[.].], the lower left-hand arcs of circular letters 3], the right-hand stroke of α or μ 5 Before α the lower part of an upright

		Fr. 33		
		(a)	(c)	(d)
		]απ[	]μωφ[	τ[
		]πα[	]δ'α'πορ[	υ[
		]ευ[	]έ αλ[.[
	(b)	]α[	]ραισπ[.[
5		]εως[	]βροτο.[┌
		]ς[	]ικν.[	χ[
			]θαυμ[	λ[
			]ταλλ[/.[
			]ν[.[
10				.[

Fr. 33 Four scraps from the same neighbourhood, of which the levels are fixed by cross-fibres and the relation of (b) to (a) by the vertical

(a) 1], possibly υ, but the shape rather anomalous

(b) 1], an upright

(c) 3], ε or υ αλ rather suspect, but if α', the second upright should be visible 5], perhaps the tip of the left-hand branch of υ 6], the back of a circular letter

		Fr. 34	
]..[
		]λη[
		]πια[.]μη[
		]ειπεπ.[
5		]ωνμεναμοις.[
		]μα[
		]αλκμ[
		]ντωια[
		]φαλλου[.]δε[
10		]ςψ.μω[.]	
]..[
		]ντ.[
		]ην.[
] [

Fr. 34 1 seq. Apparently smaller and perhaps not part of the text 3 For]ητ perhaps γ or τ followed by η 4], the lower right-hand arc of a circle 5], a slightly curved upright 10], a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters

7 seq. Αλκμ[αν . . . ε]ν τῶι (πρώτωι).

		Fr. 35		Fr. 36	
]..[.]			
		]λα. σο[
		]ομ.[.]			
		]ητέρα.[.]φ[			]υ
5		]τημω[			]ης
		]αρμυριαγ[			]αφ.
		]χνυ.[			]ρον
		]θ[			5]υχηκ
					]κερα

Fr. 35 4 There appears to be no correction in the line and the meaning of the interlinear addition is obscure Of φ only the tail 5], λ or μ 7 Or]κ 8], the top of an upright

Fr. 37	Fr. 38	Fr. 39
$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \gamma \alpha \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon [\\] \varsigma \beta \alpha \kappa \rho \iota \tau . [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \dots \beta \epsilon \iota . [\\] \eta \varsigma . [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \omega \varsigma \alpha \kappa [\end{array}$

Fr. 37-39 come from the same neighbourhood

Fr. 37 1 The tail of a stroke descending to the line from the left, the base of a circular letter and a twisted stroke touching it and descending below the line; perhaps $\varsigma(\alpha)$ or $\theta(\alpha)$ possible 2],, a short upright level with the tops of the letters, ν not particularly likely 3], the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 38 1],, a small hook to the right on the line, the end of an upright below it, and a short cross-stroke touching the top of the lower loop of β ; I cannot interpret the traces whether as parts of one letter or of two Of ϵ only the stem, perhaps τ], the lower part of an upright followed by the lower left-hand quadrant of a circle, e.g. π or $\iota\epsilon$ or the like 2], perhaps the upper left-hand corner of π

Fr. 40

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \beta \iota \eta \rho \iota \omicron [\\] \kappa \alpha \rho \mu \nu \rho \omicron . [\\] \rho \alpha \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota \alpha \nu [\\] \omicron \nu \dots \omicron . [\end{array}$$

Fr. 40 1],, the foot of an upright 2],, a dot level with the tops of the letters], a dot on the line and another above it level with the tops of the letters 3],, a trace compatible with the bottom right-hand hook of η 4 After ν perhaps ϵ The top of an upright at an interval after ϵ ; ν would suffice, otherwise], should be written], the upper end of a stroke descending to right

Fr. 41

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \tau . [\\] \kappa \kappa . [\\] \kappa \epsilon . [\\] \varsigma \alpha \tau \rho [\end{array}$$

Fr. 41 1],, an upright 3],, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke opposite the middle of the letters], the middle left-hand side of a circle 4 I am not sure that γ is not likelier than τ , in spite of traces to left of the upright

Fr. 42	Fr. 43	Fr. 44
$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \nu . [\\] \rho \varsigma [\\] \psi . [\\] \rho \epsilon [\\] \lambda \epsilon \omega [\\] \epsilon \mu [\\] \omega [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \nu \omega [\\] \rho \epsilon \lambda [\\] \omega \varsigma \delta \alpha [\\ 5] \omicron \nu \lambda [\\] \beta \alpha \lambda \epsilon [\end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \dots [\\] \pi \omicron . [\\] \rho \psi \nu [\\] . [\end{array}$

Fr. 43 1 The lower left-hand corners of two circles 5],, on the line the tail of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 45 (a)

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\] \nu \omicron \eta \eta \iota . [\\] \omega \varsigma \beta \omicron \rho . [\\] \alpha \omega [\end{array}$$

Fr. 45 (b)

$$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \tau . [\\] \dots \dots \dots [\end{array}$$

Fr. 45 (a) and (b) are evidently part of the same column but do not appear to join. $\tau \alpha \omega$ ((b) 1 + (a) 3) cannot be read

(a) 1 τ might be η 3],, apparently the top left-hand end of a stroke descending to right (b) 1],, a short curve on the line 2 The first letter has a cross-stroke like τ , the second an apex like α , the next has an upright first stroke with a stroke descending through its top, but no room for ν , the next might be ν ; before ϵ a round-topped letter like β , after ι the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 46

· . .
 ου[
 κη[
 βο.[
 βη[
 5 τω[
 αλ[
 οδυ[
 ηλ[
 ες[
 10 πρ[

Fr. 46 4 η not satisfactory but I see nothing more probable

Fr. 47

· . .
]..[
]υδϵ[
]αν[
]ταυ[

Fr. 48

· . .
].το[
]υτα[
]υς[
].ω[
 5]ατα[
]η[]
]υο[

Fr. 48 1], a dot level with the left-hand of the cross-stroke of τ, compatible with υ the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of the left-hand stroke of ω 4],

	Col. i	Fr. 49	Col. ii
		· . .	· . .
		]κρη[
		]περση[].[
		]μεθα[ ] [	στηκ...[
		]..ονκλη	γαρυξες[
5		]..ην	πρ...].[
		]..γενει	γαμογ[
		]υβοαν	ηπειγ..[
		]δεκαλ	γαρανδρ.[
		]ετροφους	επειτα.[
10		]ραστην	μηδιω.[
		]οδε	ενβ̄ πα.[
		]..ριαρε	βαινε[
		]..[.] [ ]	γενε ^α [
		] [ ]	πιπτω[
15		] [ ]	]υπερκ.[
		] [ ]	]φοτερωστι.[

Fr. 49 Col. i 4].., the traces suggest υγ, but the fibres are disordered and perhaps simply]ϵ should be written 5].., the bottom left-hand arc of a circle followed at an interval by an upright; ωι, εν and similar combinations possible 6].., an upright 8].., a trace below the line 12].., a low horizontal stroke, touching ρ; probably β

Col. ii 3 The fibres are in disorder; possibly η for ϵ [.., the lowest arc of a circle, e.g. ε or α 7].., traces compatible with ον 11].., slight traces not suggesting ρ but compatible with ι 13].., the left-hand side of a or δ 15].., traces compatible with α 16].., a dot which might be the left-hand end of a middle cross-stroke

Col. i 1 seq. There is a possibility that a comparison with Hes. *Θεογ.* 375 seqq. is apposite: *Κρίαι δ' Εὐρυβλή τέκεν... Πέρσην.* And in connexion with Titans the *ἐκατόγχιρες* might be mentioned, [(*Ο*)]βρίαρ[ε]ω[ς] (l. 12).

Col. ii 11 There may be a mention of the second book of the *Parthenia* (or the second parthenion?).

Fr. 50

(c)	οικτρ[	(d) Col. i	Col. ii
	αυτηγγε[
	] πυρετος[		] cυ[
	] λεγειμι[	] .κανδρει	κα.[
5	] ασαναγγ.[	] .ιδε	του[
	] ωδαμ.[	] τηκεν	αποδ[
	] αριστοφαν[	] γκομ	πλ[
	] ζωνίω[	] .ζασον	ω[
	] τωσαντογ.[	] πεταξεν	ον[
10	] ους[.]ν.[	] .νε	] .τ[
	] ρωτα εσην[	] .ε[] .[
	] πιπασινους[
	] περουμ[.]...[.]εωλ[
	] διαξενκ[.]...[.]τρεφει[
15	] δεουπολυχρονονδ[
(a)	] ειναιδιοις[.]...[.]ουπολυ[
	] ζησεσθαι μενηρημ.[
	] μενηρασκαλονσιτας.[
	] κραιφρον[.]...[.]δας διζε[.]		
20 (b)	] διζη[	] ηδην[
	] .cυ	] θυρας .[
	] μιδουθελειν	] κινταντη[
	] αυτοις	] ειςμεν[
	] .καιδαχε	] πεποιη[
25	] νωσας	] στελλε[
	] ακρητηρας	] τοεπιλε .[
	] επιουστε	] ρουσιη[
	] .κουσαςκαι	] καιου[
	] .τ[.]νκρο .ς	] .επεστ .[

FIG. 50 (a)-(d) Though these four fragments may be supposed to come from the same neighbourhood I cannot determine their exact positions in relation to one another. I should say that (a) and (b) certainly belong to the same column and that the interval between them cannot be very great. From the colour of the papyrus I should infer that (a) is to be placed to the left of (c) not lower than l. 20

and (b) to the left of (c) not higher than l. 21. The same criterion would lead me to place (d) to the right of (c), in which case (d) i 4, 6, 7, 10 have reasonably satisfactory continuations in (c) ll. 5, 7, 8, 11, though I cannot with complete confidence trace the fibres across from one fragment to the other. For considerations relating to a different location for (b) see the commentary at l. 26

(a) 17 The remains of the first two letters suggest the bases of δε The last letter might be α

(b) 22 For]μ possibly]α 24], traces compatible with ν, but I am doubtful how much is ink 27 Of]ε only the end of the cross-bar 28], the tail of α or λ 29], the upper part of a stroke leaning slightly to right The ink between ρ and ζ consists of a yoke-shaped stroke reaching from one to the other, through which, nearer the left-hand end, passes an upright stroke like ε

(c) 1 seq. To the left of these lines is a sign which may be meant for the 'ancora' denoting an addition in the lower margin, with another trace of ink above to its left 5], the left-hand arc of a small circle off the line 6], the middle left-hand arc of a small circle off the line 9], perhaps the left-hand apex of ν 13], traces compatible with the tip of the second upright of ν and the top left-hand arc of ε, 14 After κ a small loop near the line compatible with α Touching ζ a trace compatible with the tail of α 16], a trace compatible with the bottom right-hand angle of ν 18], the start of a stroke ascending from the line to the right 19], the middle left-hand arc of a circle 21], ε or θ 25 τ written by the original hand on ε 26], γ or the left-hand side of π 29], the edge of an upright dependent from the right-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ

(d) Col. i 4], the lower right-hand arc of a circle 5], perhaps ω preceded by the extreme right-hand end of a cross-bar as of γ, π, τ 8], a hook on the line with a spot above it, e.g. η or ι 10], the lower part of an upright followed by the lower left-hand part of a circle, τ one possibility Col. ii 4], the lower part of an upright descending below the line 11], the top of a circle

(b) 23 ε' presumably c(ων).

26 The Ionic forms here and at (c) l. 17 and what appears to be an Ionic form at (c) l. 27 suggest an attempt to locate (b) to the right of (c), so as to bring them both into the same neighbourhood. But though Αχε|ρουσίης, (b) l. 24-(c) l. 27, are a satisfactory combination, I see no other, and I am reasonably certain that the cross-fibres rule this location out.

(c) 13 seqq. Perhaps a comment on a lemma meaning 'will not live long'. The present κατα-τρεφει, l. 14, 'die' is difficult among the futures διδξεν, διοίξειν, ζησεσθαι, and perhaps I have misread as φ a badly made ψ.

15 ού(τω).

16 What I have read as ει has an anomalous look and may be meant for θ, though still rather anomalous.

17 seqq. μενηρας καλοῦσι τὰς μέρημα | και φρον[τ]ιδας is given by the lexica, see Hesychius, Suidas, Et. Mag. in ν. μενηρη occurs in literature only in one place, a line rather dubiously attributed to Panyassis, fr. 12, 15 a. If Alcman used the word, it would be expected to appear in a lemma in its Doric form, so that, leaving aside the possibility of error, the ending -ρη here is an argument in favour of supposing that these scraps do not belong to the Alcman commentary found in fr. 2 (see the introduction). But perhaps one may envisage the occurrence of μενηρη, that is, the Doric 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. act. of μενηρᾶν, though no such verb is otherwise attested.

Fr. 9

] .[
] .[
] λα[
] γλυκεω[
 5] παρῆα[
] τερων.[
] εἰπε[
] .ε.[

Fr. 9 1 .[, the start of a stroke rising to right
 2 .[, the foot of an upright
 5 ε anomalous, the right-hand side being closed by a thick upright; θ would more naturally be read or ε might have been changed to ι
 6 .[, the tip of a tall upright, e.g. η, κ
 8] .[, perhaps θρ .[, perhaps π, but τ.[not ruled out

Fr. 12

] .[
] οντ.[
] αρηη .[
] νουουκ[
 5] . . ντο.[
] . οδη.[

Fr. 12 1 γ or π
 3 .[, perhaps the lower left-hand side of ε or ε followed by the foot of ε or ε
 5] θεω could be made of the remains but they are rubbed and this may be illusory
 .[, the upper end of a stroke descending to right; ν possible
 6 Before ο what looks like θ with a straight left-hand side .[, a slightly concave upright

Fr. 10

] .λυλλ[
] ντος[
] ν[
] η[

Fr. 10 1], the lower tip of a stroke descending from left

Fr. 11

] . . .[
] [.[
] οσμ[
] ρδια[
 5] νρηιδ[
] φυσειγα[

Fr. 11 The space between ll. 1 and 3 is greater than that elsewhere left between consecutive lines but not enough to accommodate a line of ordinary size

6 Of α[only the tip of the lower left-hand angle

Fr. 13

] ν[
] . ανε.[
] . ιειπ.[

Fr. 13 2] . . two dots close together on the line; perhaps] γ .[, an upright connected with ε by the prolongation of the cross-stroke, e.g. εε or ετ
 3] ., a dot level with the tops of the letters .[, the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 14

] α[
] τ[
] ν[
] . αιωση.[
 5] ιτοσα[

Fr. 14 4], a dot level with the tops of the letters .[, the left-hand parts of γ or π or possibly another η

Fr. 16

] . ι .[
] . ιδω .[
] νααα[
] . ν[

Fr. 16 1], the foot of an upright with a cross-stroke above, perhaps a cancelled letter .[, the start of a stroke well below the line, ascending to right, possibly α
 2] ., traces compatible with the extreme right-hand tips of the arms of κ or χ
 A cross-stroke through the right-hand arc of ω
 .[, the lower left-hand arc of a circle
 4] ., an upright

Fr. 19

] κ .[
] . α[
] ης .[

Fr. 19 1], the lower part of an upright
 2] ., the foot of ε, ε, or the like

Fr. 15

] .[
] . ως[
] ειω[
] . οια[
 5] . .] θ[

Fr. 15 1 The lower part of an upright
 2] ., a dot on the line
 4] ., the lower part of the right-hand stroke of λ or μ
 5] .[, the top of a small loop

Fr. 17

] ειαίπ[
] . .] α .[

Fr. 17 2], a short upright, the foot hooked to left, with ink to right of its top

Fr. 18

] αιου .[
] . ας[
]] α[

Fr. 18 1], the left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 20

] [.[
]] υρο[
] . α .[

Fr. 20 1 Stripped
 3] ., the upper end of a stroke descending to right
 .[, the tip of an upright

	Fr. 21		Fr. 22
(a)	.]νεμμε[].πενθερο[].ποσπειθ[]οσκειθιδη[5]..[.σοαλικ[	.	. ]. ].δεσπα[]ςτον[].]
(b)	.]νει[]ςδηεπ[]ςουκα[]ξον.απαι[5]..καλ[.].ναηρ[]ραλληλωςτροαντο[]ρεθνητων λα[]κινουσιανγα[]ασαμικλασκα[10]δρρομονφύλα[]ευου[	.	.
(c)	.].ρ.[]γλυκηα[].[.εδιαδε[	.	.

Fr. 21 The relative positions of (a)-(c) are fixed vertically by strongly marked fibres of the backs. None of the cross-fibres of (a) or (c) are to be found, so far as I see, in (b) and I do not think there is any doubt that (a) is rightly placed clear of (b) above and (c) clear of (b) below

(a) 1 [γ or π probable 2], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 3], the lower end of an upright descending below the line 5].., the upper right-hand arc of a small loop, followed by what may be parts of two letters; perhaps]ρα[τ]ο, but with a different combination two letters might take the place of [τ] Above and to right of κ the left-hand arc of a circle; ω prima facie suggested but possibly 5, i.e. α, was written

(b) 3 [a dot level with the tops of the letters, perhaps τ 4 Between ν and α the lower part of an upright separated by a gap from the upper part of an upright [the left-hand arc of a circle 5].., the lower end of a stroke descending from left followed by the foot of ε or c and this by a dot on the line with another above to right [the upper tip of a stroke descending to right], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the first apex of ν 10], apparently a small apex but perhaps the top of ο 11 [prima facie the angle of γ or the like, but c perhaps not ruled out

(c) 1], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 3], the lower part of an upright descending well below the line [the lower tip of a stroke descending below the line

	Fr. 23
	.]μη[].[].[.μ[].ευε...ν[.].ηκ[5]ωετ.ακ[.].λουθογ[]ω[.].]διαμεν[]κενδ[.].ρικωςδ[]κυδ[.].ςμοσα[]παλιν[...]. 10]εοικ[].]

Fr. 23 2 [partly stripped; perhaps λ or the left-hand side of χ 3], a cross-stroke in the middle position; perhaps ε 4], the lower end of a stroke descending from left, λ or μ suggested ... the middle of a stroke rising from left to right, the lower left-hand side of ε or θ, a trace of an upright], the lower part of a stroke descending from left, perhaps λ or μ 5 Between τ and α a trace on the line, ε rather than ο 6 [γ or the left-hand side of π 7] χ could not be ruled out Of δ[only the left-hand base angle 10], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 11 An apex suggesting the left-hand top part of ν, but no trace of the right-hand upright, followed by the top part of δ or λ

Fr. 24	Fr. 25	Fr. 26
.]ν[]αυ[]ων[]ναυτ[5]]	.].ατιζο[]μενη[]. Fr. 25 2 [the lower tip of an upright descending below the line	.]ωεπυ[]αιως[]αθεα[Fr. 26 1 [an upright

Fr. 24 2 [the lower end of an upright descending well below the line 4 Of τ only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke

Fr. 27

.
 .
]της.[
]θαιτουτ[
]ονακισ[
]νςετροφ[
 5]ρυλλον.[
]πολυ[.].[
]ο.[
 .
 .

Fr. 27 1], an upright descending below the line with the foot curving to left; perhaps π 5], a dot compatible with the lower end of the right-hand stroke of a λ, apparently not a], an upright with a slight slant to right followed by confused ink which may represent a second letter 7], perhaps the upper right-hand side of the loop of ρ or β, but ο preceded by γ or τ cannot be ruled out], an upright with ink to right of its top; perhaps γ or π

Fr. 28

.
 .
].α[
].ουα[
]π[
]τε.[
 .
 .

Fr. 28 2], γ or τ α[, I am not sure that χ may not be read 4], an upright

Fr. 29

.
 .
].ων[
]αλμ[
 .
 .

Fr. 29 1], most resembles the top of the upright of a κ in the next line, but inordinately tall 2 Or perhaps λ[

Fr. 30

.
 .
].[
]ςαα.ε.[
]π.[
]ετο.[
 5]ωνος[
]ομε.[
]οντε.[
].τον.[
]ρσπυ[

Fr. 30 2 Between α and ε the upper part of λ or possibly δ], the upper part of a tall upright, probably η or κ 3], the left-hand arc of a circle 4], a trace of ink off the line 6], an upright, probably not ε 7], a dot on the line 8], the lower end of the tail of α, λ, or the like], the left-hand stroke of λ or μ

Fr. 32

.
 .
]καλλω [
]μεθατο [
], κοικον [
], νανμ[
 5]φη [
]μα [
].πο [

Fr. 32 1 The second λ rather anomalous and perhaps μ was intended, though there is a break between the two halves 3], perhaps η most probable though]σο or]σο could not be ruled out 4], a dot level with the tops of the letters 6]μ possibly αλ or λλ 7], the top right-hand angle of π possible, but η and perhaps υ not ruled out

Fr. 31

.
 .
]ω.[
].υ [
]ολ.[
] [
] [

Fr. 31 1 After ω the start of a stroke rising to right and at an interval a similar stroke beginning farther below the line and having a trace to the right of its upper end 2 The letter before υ appears to have been corrected. It resembles the second apex of μ, and, if μ is to be recognized, it must be combined with the preceding trace, a dot level with the tops of the letters 3], a dot slightly above the general level of the letters

Fr. 33

.
 .
].ατο[
]τοις [
]γαρ[

Fr. 33 1], an upright

Fr. 34

.
 .
]ουπει[
]γαρλα[
]ων [
]της[
 5]ρ[

Fr. 34 2 Above ρ[what looks like a 'short'; not ο with the top damaged

Fr. 35

. . .
].[
]λατοροα[
]ηηπροτε[
]ωνδοσει[
 5]επι.[

Fr. 35 1 A trace of the lower left-hand arc of a circle

5 .[, part of a cross-stroke as of τ

Fr. 36

. . .
]παγ.[.]κα[
]εμτγουσπολιτα[
]ροισαθαγα. . . εις[
]σπολωσαλλεπιτω.[
 5]πολε.σενε.λοικ[
].γωνο.[.]ακτα.[
]ων.[.]κπ[
]traces[]δοντ[
] ,, [

Fr. 36 The surface is in many places loose and in some stripped, in some covered by adhering fragments. There is likely to be a good deal of illusion in the decipherment of the dotted letters. The traces at the beginning of ll. 8-9 are on the underlayer

2392. DIONYSIUS, *Commentary on Alcman, Μέλη Bk. iv (Colophon)*

No commentator on Alcman of the name of Dionysius is known except that the so-called Etymologicum Magnum speaks, in *ὑποπτέρων ὄνειρων*, which refers to the Louvre parthenion col. ii 15, of Διονύσιος ὁ εὐδ() or *Κίδιτος* (*Κιδώνιος* is conjectured), in connexion with the ending *-ίδιος*. In a Latin *explanations in artem Donati* (Keil, *Gr. Lat.* iv 529) we are informed that Dionysius Thrax was 'lyricorum poetarum longe studiosissimus'. I cannot say what weight or relevance this statement has.

I have recognized no other fragments of this commentary either by the external evidence of the hand, which is of similar type to 1231 and may be dated in the second century, or by the internal evidence of the matter, but it is possible that the text would have a somewhat different appearance from the colophon and not all the fragments have yet been examined with sufficient closeness to make it possible to say that more of it will not be found.

] []
]διον.σιου.επο.[
] αλκμανος [] []
]μελ[.]ν /δ'[
] []
]] []
] []

1 Of the last letter, which is rather close to ο, only a dot of ink level with the tops of the letters remains

1 επο.[suggests *ἐποποιῶ* and at least two persons named Dionysius are recorded who are so described. But apart from the fact that they are not known to have commented on Alcman we should, I think, expect the qualification to be preceded by the article and to denote the origin of the person named or a nickname by which he is distinguished. *ἐπορ[ομαζομένου]* . . ., or anything of the sort, is excluded by the symmetry, which requires that no more than three or four letters should be missing.

3 The existence of at least five books was already known from quotations. Suidas credits him with six.

4 A monogram formed of the first two letters of *ὑπόμνημα*, of which I have noticed a good many examples in the colophons of commentaries.

2398. ALCMAN LEXICON

A list of Doric words and phrases of a poetic character with their interpretations would as a first hypothesis naturally be referred to a work on Alcman and this hypothesis would be strongly supported by the recurrence of the last surviving entry of fr. 1 in a commentary on his poems found in 2389. The arrangement is not alphabetical; perhaps the entries are taken in the order of their occurrence, as in the Homeric scholia minora, which this also appears to resemble in the curtness of its explanations.

The hand is a small round uncial of the same type as 841 (2nd hand), 1231, and may be assigned to the second century.

Fr. 1

. . φ[
] η.[
] επ[.]. πτ.[
] κιοφιν[
 5] μ[
] αιχμα[.] α. . . .[
] κοναθρο[.] σμα[
] κιοδματο. τ. .[
] οσκουρωγο[
 10] .[

Fr. 1 1] . ., possibly the lower parts of α, but ε would be slightly out of alinement and there appears to be a faint trace before it. Perhaps this represents a third letter or should be combined with ε to form η or π 2] ., the left-hand side of λ or χ suggested, but μ may not be ruled out 3] ., the right-hand parts of η or π suggested but the surface is rubbed and] ε (presumably] εε) may be represented 5 Before μ traces suggesting the end of the cross-stroke and the foot of τ, but they are very slight 6 After] α the left-hand arc of a circle followed by a dot on the line . . ., the lower left-hand arc of a circle, the lower part of an upright descending well below the line, the base of a circle or loop followed by the lower left-hand arc of a circle; four letters may be represented 8 Between ο and τ a dot level with the tops of the letters; after τ a dot near the line followed by the lower part of an upright

Fr. 1 2 I cannot explain the two lines under η, of which the lower looks like a paragraphus.

4 αόφιν (= θεόφιν) is not attested for Alcman, from whom however a vocative in -φει, ώρανίαφει, is quoted (fr. 59).

6 seq. I suppose that δθροικμα interprets the word after αιχμα[τ]α. . and consequently that -κόν is the end of an adjective, say, πολεμικόν, which interprets αιχμα[τ]α. . . στρατών . . . αιχματάν Pind. Ol.

2393. ALCMAN LEXICON

xi 17 seqq. is the kind of phrase I look for and I cannot assert that αιχμα[τ]αεστρα[ος (or -αν . . . -ον) is not represented here, but I do not think it is the reading that would first occur to one.

8 seq. κιοδματον τεγ[is acceptable and, if it is right to recognize κιοδματον τεγος, we can refer it to its context, which is partly preserved in 2389 fr. 3. A temple of the Dioscuri is in question.

Fr. 2

. . αυ[
] ωε μηβ[
] δομεω[
] νιςμ[
 5] ωνοικο[
] προησω[
] ην .[
] μησω[
] εετ[
 10] να .[
] [

Fr. 2 1] ., ν would suit, but two letters may be represented 4 The surface is damaged and τ for υ is perhaps not ruled out, but it is not the prima facie probable interpretation of the ink 7 If] τ or] γ, there is another letter between this and η υ is written large, as if final, but there is a dot of ink, like a high stop, after it 10] ., the lower part of a stroke descending below the line through the tail of α, its foot hooked to right

2394. CHORAL LYRIC IN THE DORIC DIALECT (?ALCMAN)

Too little remains of the text represented in the following fragments to make identification of their author, even if it could be achieved, of much practical value. Since it clearly comprised strophic compositions (fr. 1 (a) i 5 marg.) in the Doric dialect (as shown by accentuation, έγών for έγώ, c for θ in παρνεύικαι, ω for ου in genitive singular, -άc in accusative plural, etc.), the ascription to Alcman will naturally present itself to the mind. I see nothing inconsistent with the possibility.

The hand is a firm well-spaced uncial, upright or sloping slightly backwards, I suppose of the late second or third century. Most or all of the lection-signs may be original. At least two, and possibly as many as four, different hands, about contemporary with the text, may be distinguished in the marginalia.

		Fr. 1	Col. ii
(a)	Col. i		
1		μαλικαῖς· φομαλι ^κ Ν	
		εος[]	αμη[]
		σει[...].οc· cειων ^ρ	[] × εγωψ[]
		υῖαι ἀφνεῖν ^τ · πλουζία[]	[...].
5		[] ο ^υ διατηναντιροφ[]	
		[] αν []	
(b)			
			]. ἄδ[]
			] ωιτε[]
			] μοικαι[]
			] εγω·νδ[]
		5] παπτα[]	
		] αμ/ανεχω[]	
		] παραπυθμ[]	
		] χεδον[]	
		× τ...].ε[]	
		10 × καλ[[v]]ε[...].	
		] | κυγαλ[]	
		] ) λαο[]	
		] cααμ ηῖca[]	
		] cal []	
] ...[]	

Fr. 1 (a), (b) All the right-hand part of (a) is darker than (b) and I cannot trace the vertical fibres in detail, but I am nevertheless disposed to be fairly confident that (a) contains the top of the same two columns as (b). I see no way of determining the interval between them
(b) Col. i is badly rubbed

Fr. 1 (a) i Upper marg.], a or perhaps λ 2], a cross-stroke as of τ, but I am not sure that two letters are not represented, the first having a slightly domed top; e.g.]cτ 3 Of]c only the end of the overhang [...], rubbed; perhaps σν, but of σ only scattered dots, of ν only the extreme lower end of the first and the upper part of the second upright 5], the tip of a tall upright φ or ψ], apparently the base of c, but the surface above and for the space of a letter to the left is now blank. Perhaps, therefore, a mark of length over α in l. 6 6], perhaps the upper right-hand arc of σ, but in a damaged place

(b) i 1], on the line apparently the end of a stroke descending from left 2], I cannot combine the traces satisfactorily. First appears to come either η or an upright followed by ε, after this a short stroke rising from the line with a slight slope to right followed by a dot like a stop, together just possibly representing α 1 seq. marg. The reading of the dotted letters in the first line and the estimation of the number of letters in the second line of the marginal addition are to be treated with great reserve 4 Of φ only the upper part of the upright and upper side of the right-hand loop Before ν the top of an upright taller than most i's φ[α]ν- not prima facie acceptable There is no trace of text after l. 4, though the ends of a marginal addition to the left of the last two lines of (b) ii would be presumed to imply the existence of text to their own left

(b) ii 1], the lower part of a stroke descending from left 9 Perhaps τη; or τ.]. should be written 10], part of a cross-stroke level with the tops of the letters 12], π or γ. 14 The top of an upright followed at an interval by two traces level with the top of the letters

Fr. 1 (a) i 1 υμ- for δμ- attested for Aeolic (in this word P.O. xxi Addenda 1231, 6A 7; 2294, 11), not Doric.

Ni() adduced on Sophocles 1174 iv 23, on Sappho PSI 123, 3, on Alcaeus 2166 (c) 2 i 14, and elsewhere.

3 There appears to be some relation between the]ce[...]., ρoc of the text and the cειωνο() of the marginal note, but I do not see what it is. c may represent θ, but I recognize no recorded common or proper noun.

4 ἀφνεαί τ' looks like a v.l. of πλο]υῖαι, though the additional τ(ε) is strange. It appears to be then interpreted, as commonly in lexicā and the like, as πλουζία], though again the retention of the Doric accent of the text is strange.

For ἀφνεαί feminine cf., e.g., Bacchyl. 5, 53.

5 I presume that the note means that the strophic respension prescribed a particular form in the text.

Fr. 1 (b) ii 5 παπτα]ν-.

6 αψ' ἀνεχα]ρ-.

7 παρὰ πυθμ]έν-. But παρ fr. 2 (a) 4.

10 Perhaps the original καλος was an error for καλουc and καλωc was substituted for this but in other places the change is in the opposite direction, fr. 2 (c) 5, fr. 6, 2.

11 Probably κυγαλ]οειc or the like, though κυγα is in no way ruled out.

13 ηῖca]ν with Doric accentuation.

Fr. 6

·] [·
· ou ·
] ωστ [·
] ω [·
] [·

Fr. 7 vacant

Fr. 8 vacant

Fr. 6 2], δ or λ [· 5,
o, or ω

Fr. 9

· ·
] σεγω [·
· ·

Fr. 10

· ·
] γγω [·
· ·

Fr. 10 ω anomalous. but ε
no better

Fr. 11

] πολυ [·
· ·

Fr. 12

· ·
] δεη [·
] . [·

Fr. 12 2], the top of a
loop, perhaps β or ρ [·, the
tips of two uprights; perhaps
ε [should be written

Fr. 13

· ·
] α [·
] μα [·
] π ε [·
] ε αν τ [·
5] υ μ [·
] εκ [·

Fr. 14 probably from the
same region as fr. 1 (b)
i.e.g. the feet of π, or two
letters may be represented

Fr. 14

· ·
] [·
] μ ε [·
] υ [·

2395. LYRIC VERSES

It is not easy to come to a settled opinion about the nature and affinities of the following text. The setting implied in ll. 10-13 is Peloponnesian and there are some Doric features in the dialect, the endings -vāv, l. 9, -rāc, l. 10, the accentuation παῖδα, l. 11. The last appears to be specifically Laconian, but it is isolated, and the accentuation ἀγεσθαί, l. 12, which is inconsistent with the same system, throws some doubt on it. In any case, the failure of θυμῶν, l. 7, εθελων, l. 12, to show the substitution of c for θ by itself forbids one to think of Alcman as author. In fact, the Doric tincture is very slight. Attention is drawn in the notes to other places where it would have been apt to appear. I can make no guess who might treat this subject in this style, but I have not the impression that it is an early writer.

From the paragraphus between ll. 13 and 14 it is to be inferred that the composition was strophic, but I see no correspondences in what is preserved. Nor can I make metrical sense of what is left of the separate verses.

In the only place where I can follow the story a father is telling of how a Centaur asks for the hand of his daughter (at some feast?) and is refused.

The script is a conventional upright uncial of the 'biblical' type much like 1179, which is assigned to the early part of the third century. Some of the lection signs look as if they might be due to the writer of the text, others and the corrections appear to be secondary. Although it cannot be asserted on the strength of what survives that the manuscript was laid out on the same scale as P. Ryl. 16, the comparison is worth making.

There is some likelihood that we have the beginning of the roll. There is an inch or more of blank papyrus to the left of the writing and in it a joint, which suggests the reinforcement found in that place in other rolls of which the beginnings have survived.

		Fr. 3 (a)	
Col. i	.	Col. ii	.
	]	μ[
	]ην	κ[
	]πει	τ[
	]φ.[.]ητηπαρ	μ[
5	]ουγαρ.ντ[.]κουν	ου[
	]ληγου. .[.]ιθη	την.[
	]τρικιναλλοτη	τοσα[
	]νωξεντη. . . α	τουπα.[
	]μοιοσνικεσσε	θοστωνα[
10	]διοσεντωπεριαν	τ.δ.ν [
	]ημεσηθυρα	[
	]υναικω	[
	]ετηνεπι	[
(b)	.	.	.
	.	.	.
	.	.	.
	.	.	.
15	]ελωιδρυντ.[	]φρο.[
	]ς.νωσπερ [	] [ ] εχει.[
	]αγον	[] ε. .[.] [
	]γγελλοντι 7	τεεκελευ[.] [

Fr. 3 The interval between (a) and (b) cannot be determined

Col. i 5] or]ν 6 After ν the foot of an upright with a hook to the left and the lower left-hand arc of a circle Before ι a long-tailed letter preceded at some distance by the foot of an upright, perhaps]κρ 8 Between ι and α perhaps χε or λυ (either anomalous) followed by a trace below the line and another slightly to the right of it level with the tops of the letters 16]αα not satisfactory. The letter before ε is represented by what looks most like the right-hand part of μ, that before ν seems to be ο converted to α by the addition of a tail

Fr. 3 9 seqq. δε νεικεσσε θεας, δεσ οι μεσσαυλον εκοντο is *Il.* xxiv 29. It is evidently quoted here for μεσσαυλον, since the words which follow correspond to Schol. A on xvii 112, δεσ την κατα αγρον επαυλιν μεσσαυλον οι δεσ Αττικοι την μεσση θυραν της αυλης, την διοριζουσιν την τε γυναικωνιτην και τον ανδρωνα and those which preceded may well have corresponded to Schol. T αντιπεφρασται γαρ τωσ σταθμοιο (*l.* 110).

10 seq. < > dius in his (book) on the men's quarters'?

		Fr. 4
.	.].[
.	.	]του.[
.	.	]θοσ[
.	.	]τοχερσι[
5	.	]....[

Fr. 4 3 seq. Apparently xvii 481 seq. Αλκμεδων δε β]σηθόσιν αρμ' επορούσας καρπαλιμωσ μάστιγα και ήνα λάζε]το χερσίν.

Fr. 5

.	.	]ν.[
.	.	]αυ[
.	.	]τοσν[
.	.	]α.τουπ[
5	.	]εκυναιζ[
.	.	]ε. .[.] οπ[.]θ[
.	.	]πιθεν[

Fr. 5 2]... ε or ε followed by γ or τ 4 Perhaps αμτ, but α.ετ, or the like, possible

Fr. 5 5 The lemma, if it is the lemma and not an illustrative quotation, is xvii 520 ως δ' όταν δξόν έχων πέλεκυν αιζήσιος άνήρ, κόψας εξόπιθεν κερών βοός αγραυλοιο, ίνα τάμη.

		Fr. 7 (a)	
Fr. 6	Col. i	Col. ii	
			. . . [
			] ν
			δονδει τ α [
			] ν ε
			πεωαταρ [
			] τ η ν
			ακουσας κα [
			5 μ εν ρ σ τ η ν . . [
			π [. . . [. . . [. . . [. . . [. . . [
			α . . . [
			τ . ε . . . [
			ταδετευχ [
			10 εστρεφεμ [
			] ρ υ [.] κ π ρ λ ε μ [
			] τ η ν χ [
			(b)
			] ω . . [
			] . ο π λ α τ . [
			15] ρ σ η ρ μ ο σ ε τ ω [
			] . ι α χ ι λ [
			] . θ ε σ θ α ι [
			] . ι . [. [. [. [
] . [

Fr. 6 may come from the left-hand side of fr. 7
 1 After ν the lower left-hand curve of a circle, next traces suggesting ε followed by the lower part of an upright and the lower part of a stroke ascending to the right, e.g. ρχ 5], the tip of an upright, ν rather than ε [the lower part of an upright

Fr. 7 (a) Col. ii 1 The lower part of an upright followed by the left-hand arc of a small circle, e.g. τ ο 2 α looks more like λ; ετ η μ might be written, if the top of ε be supposed completely lost 3 The top of ε lost, τ possible
 (b) The fibres appear to fix the position below the left-hand side of (a) ii but the interval between (a) and (b) cannot be determined 14], the tail of α or λ .[, perhaps the tip of the loop of α 16] φ possible 17], the foot of an upright

Fr. 7 (a) col. ii + (b) Ll. 3 seq. contain (parts of) xvii 693 seq. ἀτὰρ τὰ γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ. ὡς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δὲ κατέκτυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας, ll. 9-11 (parts of) xvii 698-700 τὰ δὲ τεύχε' ἀμύμονι δῶκεν ἑτάιρωι, Λαοδόκωι, ὅς οἱ σχεδὸν ἔστρεψε μάνυχας ἵππους. τὸν μὲν δάκρυ χέοντα πόδες φέρων ἐκ πολέμοιο. Ll. 4 seq. seem to have contained something corresponding to (b), unless it is the statement in Scholl. A, D, G, and Eustathius. I find nothing extant corresponding to (b), unless it is the statement in Schol. T (and Eustathius) Λαοδόκωι παραδοῖναι τὰ ὄπλα ὅπως δοκῆι . . . Ἀντίλοχος εἶναι. But I may be mistaken about the connexion of fr. 6 and 7 (b) with fr. 7 (a) and fr. 6 may relate to xvii 202 l. 1 εγγύς ἐρχεται corresponding to σχεδὸν εἶσι, fr. 7 (b) to xvii 210 (ll. 14 seqq. τ]α ὄπλα . . .

ηρμοσε τα[ι κτλ. corresponding to Ἐκτορι δ' ἤρμοσε τεύχε', on which Schol. B has . . . ἀρμόσαι τὰ ὄπλα τῷ Ἐκτορι. οὐ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεῖ κτλ.).

		Fr. 8
		] φ α . [
		] δ ρ [. . .] . κ α . [
		] . ν ε ξ ἡ γ γ ε ι λ ε ν α χ ι λ λ ε [. [
		] . π ε ζ ο σ ε ρ ε ι τ ι σ ε ν . . . [
		5] ρ ε ι σ θ [.] ν [. .] ν . . [
		] ρ . [

Fr. 8 1 [the bottom left-hand curve of ε, θ, ο, c 3], the right-hand arc of a circle, off the line; ο not particularly suggested [the left-hand side of a circular letter 4], the upper part of an upright above the level of the letters Perhaps αρχ, but the surface is damaged
 Fr. 8 Perhaps part of the commentary corresponding to what is found in the extant scholia on xvii 700. The appearance of the papyrus is consonant with this possibility.

Fr. 9	Fr. 12
] ε γ ο μ ε η [	] . α ν α π α [
] ε ν α . [	] ο . . ν ε ς [
] . [	] ν α λ . ο σ τ ο [.
	] λ ο υ τ ο υ . [
Fr. 10	5] [
] . ω ι α ρ ι σ τ ο υ [	Fr. 12 2 xφ possible a single μ
] γ ρ η μ ε τ ο δ [	3 For λ. perhaps
] . ε π ι λ ι ο ν [	Fr. 13
	] . φ [
	] ε ρ ο [
] . . . [
	] η ν . [
	5] . . . τ [
	] π ο ς α ς α ρ ο [
	] ω σ α π ο λ ε [.
	] . α λ ε . [
] . . [

Fr. 10 1], γ or τ 3], perhaps ν rather than ε
 Fr. 11
] β ω ι [
] γ τ ο η [.
] μ ω ς [.
] . [.
 Fr. 11 2], an upright
 Fr. 12 1], the left-hand side of a circular letter 8 [δ, λ, or the like 9 [β, ρ, ο, or the like

Fr. 14 (a)

]τωνκ...[
]κριδοσερ.α.[
]σιμ.τωνηα[
]ναανονομ[
 5]τισιωδ[. .]π[
]ενγκειμ[
 (b)]..[|]ενα[
]ν..[
]ατην.[

Fr. 15

]..[
]..συγγ.[
]κυπρο[
]..ρο.[. .].[
 5]ολις.[
]..τευκρουης[
]μενοσανειη[
]σηηπτολιεθρο[
]υβοιαθηηαις[
 10]ησιweisτηηκυ[

Fr. 14 (a) 1 The dotted letters are too rubbed to be certainly verifiable; after κ probably α or λ, then a dot on the line, then traces compatible with λ. 2 Between ρ and α an upright. 3 After μ an upright; η suggested by the spacing. 4 close to the edge, but not apparently ν.

(b) The position below the right-hand side of (a) seems assured, but it is not likely that (a) 7 and (b) 1 formed part of the same line.

Fr. 15 Though there is no doubt that the same copyist wrote it, there is a recognizable difference between the script of the lower lines of this fragment and that of frs. 1-14.

2], an upright. 3], the lower left-hand curve of ε or the like. 4], the top of a tall upright, probably φ. After ο an upright, perhaps ν more likely than υ. 5], the base curve of ο, β, or the like; ηφ might be possible. 6], the surface is damaged and the present appearance of the ink deceptive. There is unexplained ink like the tail of an unusually long downstroke between τε, but φ in l. 5 cannot be ρ or φ.

Fr. 14 2 This appears to be Callim. *hy.* 1, 50 Πανακριδος εργα μ[ελισσης. I see no connexion with xvii.

Fr. 15 The connexion of Teucer with Cyprus is not mentioned by Homer. L. 8 contains a quotation of *Iliad* xviii 512 = xxii 121 but the next line seems to be Eur. *Ion* 294 (quoted by Strabo 356, Schol. Aristoph. *Eip.* 250, for πάλις in the sense of χάραξ). Again, no obvious relevance to xvii.

2398. CALLIMACHUS, *Hecale*

The recovery of the beginnings of the verses of which so large a part was preserved in 2217 resolves the problems presented by 2217 8-11 on lines very different from those on which they were attacked. This is not an encouragement to embark on the conjectural supplementation of 2217 4-6 of which, even with the new additions, still less is known.

The identification of fr. 260, 46, already suspected, is now pretty certainly verified. An anchorage is found for fr. 346. From such exiguous material this is no bad harvest.

The text is written (on two scraps which I cannot join) on the back of a document, in which figures and a mention of baked brick can be recognized, in a decent but by no means handsome hand with an occasional cursive form, comparable with 211, 220, which may be assigned to the first half of the second century. There are no lection signs.

	.].στηριμ[	γ]αστέρη μ[οῦνον ἔχοιμι κακῆς ἀλκτῆρια λιμοῦ
	.].δουμεχ[	.].δου μεχ[
	.].λλεκαλ[	ἀ]λλ' εκαλ[]].ελει[
	.].δ. ακ[	.].δ. ακ[]].νον π[
5	.].ρμμ[	καὶ κ]ρμμ[ον κ]κεάνο]ς ἀποστάξαντος ἔραζε
	.].μης[	.].λμης[]].ουτις ἐπέεσσεται]
	...].θων[	...].θων[]].μ[ε] κακάγγελον· εἶθε γάρ]
	.].[	.].μ[]].ζώουσα κατὰ χρόνον ὄφρατ[]ης]
	.].εθρ[	φ]εθρ[ιαὶ τῆν γρη]ῦν ἐπιπνεῖουσι κορώνην.
10	.].αμ. .].[	γαὶ μὰ τ[όν], [οὐ γάρ [π]ω πάντ' ἤματα, καὶ [μ]ὰ τὸ ῥυκνόν]
	.].κυφαμερ. .].[	κυ]φαρ ἐμόν, καὶ το]ῦτ]ο τὸ δένδ]ρον αὖον ἐόν περ,]
	.].ουκηδ. .].μον[	οὐκ ἦδη β]νμόν[τε κ[α] ἀξονα καυάξαντες]
	.].λοιδυ[.].εω[	ἠ]ξλιοι δυ[ε]μείων εἶσω πόδα πάντες ἔχουσι,]
	.].ελοσα. λη[	δ]είελος ἀλλ' [ἦ] [ν]ῆξ ἦ ἐνδιος ἦ ἔσεται ἠώς]
15	.].υτε. .].[. .].[	ε]ῖτε κόρ[α]ξ, δε[]].υῖν γε καὶ ἄν] κύκνοιεν ἐρίξοι
	.].γαλα[.].ο[	καὶ γάλα[κι χρ]ο[ι]ῆ]ν [καὶ κύματος] αἰκρωὶ αὐτῶν,
	.].νε[	κυ]άνε[ον κτλ.

Parts of the text are preserved also in 2217 (indicated by half-brackets) and P. Rain. vi (Callim. fr. 260 Pf.)

1 Callim. fr. 346 4 Though I see traces of only four letters before α, it seems likely that there cannot have been fewer than five. The first is represented only by a short stroke, rising left to right, level with the tops of the letters, the next by parts of a cross-stroke and an upright descending from it, compatible with τ and, I suppose, γ and π (of the second of which there is no, of the first no comparable, specimen); if τ or γ, there is room for a narrow letter between it and δ. For δ I cannot rule out λ; between this and α there is an indeterminate trace at about mid-letter 5 Fr. 260, 46 6 Of]λ only the tail; α not ruled out 8]λ appears to be no likelier than η; of either one would expect to see something of the right-hand upright 9 Of ω only the lower right-hand arc; its appearance is anomalous but this may be owing to damage 10], two traces which may be the top and lower part of an upright [a trace on the line followed at some distance by an upright; no doubt fr. 35, though I cannot verify it [π]ω Lloyd-Jones 11 After φ scattered traces which I cannot relate to the known letters 12 η is unusually narrow, there is more than the usual space between it and ρ, the space between ρ and μ seems too little for ν and the scanty traces do not suggest it, but I see no alternative combination 13 η is not particularly suggested, but the very slight trace does not particularly suggest any letter of the hand ε is represented only by what may be parts of the upper and lower left-hand side Of μ only the right-hand curve of the left-hand half 15 The traces after τ are reconcilable with the known letters but I do not think would naturally be taken to represent them

2 seq. ἡ]δ' οὐδ' seems likely. If ἡ refers to λμῶς, the next verse might begin ἀλλ' Ἐκάλη; if to Hecale, ἀλλ' ἐκάληεεεε or the like.

8 I doubt κει]λ, for which there does not appear to be room.

10 seqq. ναι μὰ should introduce a positive asseveration, but in strict grammar there is none available, the effect of ἀλλ(δ), l. 14, being to bring its clause into the parenthesis beginning with οὐ γάρ, l. 10. Since there is no doubt that the sense to be recognized is 'of a surety . . . the hour will come', it must be presumed that ἀλλά is illogically inserted by way of emphasizing the opposition between what is denied and what is affirmed.

The contents of the parenthesis were seen by Mr. H. Lloyd-Jones to be an equivalent way of saying, 'time has not yet come to an end'. 'For not yet for ever . . . not already having smashed pole and axle do all the suns have their foot inside their setting-places.' A less contorted expression of much the same notion may be seen at Theoc. xvi 71 seq.

ἡέλοι . . . πάντες: the meaning is precisely rendered by the phrase in an utterance of Philip of Macedon reported by Livy xxxix 26, (nondum) omnium dierum solem (occidisse). (The same utterance as reported by Diodorus xxix 16 seems to me to say something different, 'they had not yet seen all the sun go down', quite got to the end of the day. Both passages are adduced by Gow on Theoc. i 102, where I think πανθ' ἄλιον is ambiguous. If it means 'all the sun', the Diodorus passage would be comparable; if it means 'every sun', it would differ from what Callimachus is saying as 'my last day' differs from 'the Last Day'.)

δυσμέων εἶσω: as may be seen from the references collected by Pfeiffer ad loc., ἐξω . . . πόδ' ἔχειν and similar expressions are not infrequent with the meaning 'be (get) clear of' a situation. Examples of the opposite notion, εἶσω . . . πόδ' ἔχειν, 'be involved in', appear not to be found elsewhere—the nearest is Eur. *Heracld.* 168—and δυσμέων has not the same connotation of predicament as the nouns employed with ἐξω and the like.

2399. ANONYMOUS (DURIS?), HISTORY OF SICILY UNDER AGATHOCLES

Height 16.5 cm.

First century B.C.

Plate

Of this text parts of four columns, including the top margin of one, survive in or can be satisfactorily combined with one single continuous fragment, and there are six unplaced scraps. How many lines, if any, are missing at the foot of the surviving columns is not known. Probably they are not many, for the longest column runs to 27 lines and a height of 16.5 cm. Lines vary in length between 12 and 18 letters, 14–15 being the number most frequently found. The hand is clear and square but somewhat ill controlled. The thickly cut pen, and the prominent rectangular or oblique finishing strokes at the feet of letters as well as the mainly horizontal finials or link-strokes at their head give it a mannered and ugly look. μ is made in four strokes, with a deep centre, ν has its second and third members raised above the line, ο and σ are placed relatively high in the line. Comparison with the hand of P. Ryl. iv 586 of 99 B.C. and the literary hand of P. Graec. Berlin. 11 allows the text to be assigned confidently to the first century B.C. The scribe's lack of skill is shown by his crowding, in small letters, at the end of a line syllables that would have been better placed in the following line. He uses iota adscript throughout, and his only punctuation is the paragraphus which serves to divide cola inside sentences as well as to close periods. There is a single diplē in the margin between cols. i and ii.

In the first column an attack by Carthaginians on Albus Tunes which harassed Agathocles is described. The rest of the piece, including the fragments, is devoted to a vivid account of an incident in Syracuse. It relates how one Diognetus, a creature of Hamilcar and the Syracusan exiles, attempted to start a riot in the city by haranguing the astonished citizens from the platform in the assembly, and his treatment by Antander (the brother of Agathocles).

Neither the incident nor the personality of Diognetus is known to us from any other source. Nevertheless with the help of Diodorus (who, with Justin, is the only authority who gives any continuous narrative of Sicilian history at this period) these events may be located with some confidence in the autumn of 310 B.C. The tense situation in Syracuse, the mention of Hamilcar and the exiles (l. 37, cf. Diod. xx 15, 3; ll. 95–96), the easiest restorations of ll. 26–32, and the deliberations ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ παρεστώτος (ll. 43–45) suggest that the impact of war on the city had only recently begun. This is the kind of situation depicted for autumn 310 B.C. in Diod. xx 15–16. Diodorus elects to describe the moment after Agathocles' landing in Africa and victory over Hanno and Bomilcar, before this news has reached Syracuse. Hamilcar in Sicily is attempting to exploit the despondency in the city caused by rumours of the annihilation of Agathocles' force. Antander is on the point of surrendering, but is forestalled by Erymnon the Aetolian who puts the defences in order. Eight thousand new fugitives, relatives and friends of those formerly in exile, join the

refugees on the Carthaginian side. If cols. ii seqq. describe events in Syracuse of that autumn, col. i should refer to an incident at Agathocles' camp at White Tunis during the same period, that is, after his resounding victory. Now at just this time there are two accounts, in Diod. xx 17, 2-4 and 18, 1-2, of Carthaginian assaults on the Syracusan encampment at Tunes. But neither of these attacks can be identified satisfactorily with θαῖ in the papyrus. In both accounts in Diodorus Agathocles is represented as absent when the attacks are launched, in both it is a triumphant stratagem which brings him back; in the papyrus the phrase τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα (ll. 9-11) implies the presence of Agathocles in person at Albus Tunes, and he seems not to be having the best of the exchanges. Nevertheless there is a hint in Diod. xx 18, 3 of a sequence of events which conforms to that of the papyrus: οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς ἐκ Σικελίας προσγενομένης βοηθείας καὶ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην συμμάχων συναγωνιζομένων ἔδδκου ὑπερέχειν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα· τούτου δὲ τοῦ προτερήματος γενομένου πάλιν συνεστάλη τὰ φρονήματα τῶν βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ Ἐλύμαν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Λιβύων ἀποστάτην γενόμενον ἐνίκησε μάχῃ κτλ. These sentences imply a Carthaginian attack which was directed against Agathocles in person, and which enjoyed sufficient success to cause Agathocles' Libyan allies to desert him, which is precisely the situation described in the first column of the papyrus. In view of the possibility that the attacks described in chapters 17 and 18 are two accounts of the same event and Diodorus' notoriously confused head for military matters this location seems satisfying. It is perhaps also worth noting the occurrence of the word προνομεύω in Diod. c. 18, 2 and papyrus l. 16. It seems therefore that Diodorus, while hinting at the development of the military situation in Africa, suppressed entirely the scene in the assembly described in cols. ii seqq. of the papyrus. This scene is no doubt later in time than the discussion of Erymnon and Antander which Diodorus did choose to describe, and which he may have thought a sufficient account of the state of morale in Syracuse.

It is perhaps worth adding that two alternative hypotheses for the location of the papyrus narrative have been examined and rejected. On the first of these, these events would be located in 307 B.C. This hypothesis obtains some plausibility from the apparent similarity of the military situation to that described in Diod. xx 59 seqq. Agathocles returned in that year from Sicily to assist his son Archagathus against vigorous and successful Carthaginian countermeasures, which included dispersing their forces, cutting the Greek communications (c. 61, 3), and confining Archagathus to Tunes; while when his father returned, his Libyan allies were prevailed on to abandon him. There is nothing, however, in the known domestic history of Syracuse at this later date that can be reconciled with the events of cols. ii seqq. of the papyrus, and the mention in ll. 34-39 of Hamilcar in a way that presupposes him alive and not three years dead is a fatal obstacle to it. On the second hypothesis the restorations of col. i should be so managed as to make the Syracusans, not the Carthaginians, the

subject of the verbs. In that case the narrative might be made to square almost exactly with Diodorus' chap. 17 and 18, even to the subject of ὄχυρωσάμενοι ll. 7-8; cf. Diod. 17, 1 παρεμβολὴν δὲ πλησίον τοῦ Τύνητος ὄχυρωσάμενος (sc. ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς). But the linguistic, stylistic, and factual difficulties involved seem to me insuperable (see note on l. 1).

Suggestions for the authorship of these fragments must be made with caution, for none of the historians who are known to have dealt with this period and subject survives except in exiguous fragments. Of one of them, the Antander who is mentioned in the papyrus, it is known that he wrote a history of his brother's reign only because he is quoted as evidence for the age of his brother at his death (Jacoby, *Fragm. Gr. Hist.* iii B 565). Of the twenty-two books of Callias, Agathocles' personal historian, seven fragments survive (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 564), useless for any judgement. Now the papyrus narrative may be the work of one of these unknowns, but it is more likely that it is the work of a more famous name. Two such are to be taken seriously into account. The first is that of Timaeus of Tauromenium (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 566). He can, however, be ruled out from the start, for he was an exile and a bitter personal enemy of Agathocles, and therefore unlikely to have coupled exiles and Carthaginians in terms so disparaging as those of ll. 36 seqq., or to have displayed Antander in so relatively mild a light. Moreover, the stylistic features and vocabulary of the papyrus are not such as to justify the praise bestowed by Cicero on his style (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* iii B 566, T 20, 21). The second candidate for consideration is Duris of Samos, who devoted a separate work in four or more books to Agathocles. In favour of the attribution to Duris there are two arguments. The first is that since Roesiger wrote in 1874 Duris has been accepted as the main source of Diodorus' narrative of the history of Agathocles (a restatement of the arguments is given by E. Schwartz in *RE* v, cols. 687 seqq.), and it has already been shown that Diodorus could have summarized (though unintelligently) col. i of the papyrus.¹ The second argument is the general style of the author of the papyrus. He aims at graphic and vivid description which will recreate the scene for his hearers, and his picture of the assembly suits well what one imagines to have been Duris' own manner of writing from the latter's criticism of his predecessors, especially Ephorus and Theopompus (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* ii A 76, F 1), or from Plutarch's sneer at his tragic mannerisms and his elevation of narrative brilliance (*διήγησις*) above truth (ibid. 78). The journalistic effectiveness of the papyrus is assisted by the use of popular phrases (*φαιλίνος*, l. 35 n.) and by the analysis of crowd reactions in a Tacitean manner. Syntactically the most noticeable feature of the papyrus is the stringing together of participles and genitive absolutes to build up a circumstantial picture. In col. ii, ll. 32-52 there are six such participial phrases and the main verb has not been reached by the foot of the column; in col. iii, ll. 60 seqq. there are five participles in genitive absolute construction before the subject,

¹ See addendum p. 106.

itself introduced by a participle, is introduced, the principal verbs being then further split antithetically and participially extended. This syntactical method appears in other surviving fragments of Duris, e.g. F 10. In diction the papyrus is not squeamish or fastidious: it uses the common Hellenistic crases, e.g. l. 62 τάνδρὸς (cf. also ll. 17, 78), does not avoid the form εἰδῆσαι (l. 78), has the common Hellenistic fondness for verbs compounded with two prepositions, some of them rare (προανακρούεσθαι l. 46), and uses groupings (καταλαβέσθαι τὸν λόγον 3, λόγους διατίθεσθαι 59, ἀφασίαι συνεσχῆσθαι 67-68) and constructions (προνομεύειν with accusative 17, ἐπιθουρβεῖν with accusative 63) frequent in the koine. In all these points the papyrus would no doubt come under the same omnibus censure as Dionysius of Halicarnassus metes out (T 10) to Duris and Phylarchus and Polybius and several other Hellenistic historians, though not to Timaeus, that they did not understand δεξιῶς συντιθέναι τὰ δνόματα, and none of Dionysius' contemporaries could bear to read them through. The case for Duris' authorship is therefore prima facie attractive. But it must fall short of proof.

If Duris is accepted as the author of this narrative, the papyrus provides a striking illustration of the weaknesses of Diodorus' method. 'Excerpting', wrote E. Schwartz in *RE*, l.c., 'destroys fine shades and connexions more than can at present be realized.'

I should like to express thanks to Professor T. S. Brown and Mr. J. B. Hainsworth for suggestions made during discussion of this text.

	Col. i		[ναμει] στρατευσαν-
	One line lost		[τες ε]πι τους ανω
	.....]...α	20	[.....]. αφιστασαν
	.....] μεν κατε-		[.....]ντους απο των
	[λαβο]ντο τον λοφον		[Ελλην]ων και παλι
5	[τον α]ντικειμενον		[δυναμι]ν αυτων συμ-
	[τωι Α]ευκωι Τυμητι		[μαχιδα] συνηγον του
	[και τ]ο ντον οχυρω-	25	[δε πολε]μου περι ..[.]
	[σαμε]ν οι πολλα πρα-		[.....] συ]νεστωτος .[
	[γματα] π αρειχον το-		
10	[ις πε]ρι τ ον Αγαθο-		
	[κλεα] των δ οδων		
	[.....]		
	[της ες] Νεαν πολιν		Col. ii
	[και τω]ν προς εω το-		One line lost
	[ντους] ειργηρες και	30	[.....]. νς[.....] οί [δ]ε
15	[πασα]ν τη[ν] πλησιων		Συρακουσ[ο]ι[ε] το] πληθος
	[χωρων] προνομευον-		ουκ αξιομαχ[ο]ν εχον-
	[τες αμαχ]ει ταλλι δυ-		τες αυτην [τ]ην πο-
			λιω ετηρουν τοιαυ-
			της δε της καταστασε-

	ως ουσης Δι[ο]γνητος	πολλων αφασιαι τινι	
35	ο φαλαινιος επικαλου-	συνεσχημενων και	
	μενος διεφθαρμενος	διευλαβουμενων μη	
	ντ Αμυλκου και των	70	τις ηι κινήσις περι
	φυγαδων και πα-		την πολιν αναστας
	ρεσκευασμενος αν		Αντανδρος ενε-
40	δυναται μεταστη-		χειρησεν μεν τον Δι-
	σαι την πολιν εκκλη-	75	ογητητον εκ της εκ-
	σιαζοντων των Συ-		κλησιας απαγαγειν
	ρακοσιων υπερ του		κατασχων δ αυτον
	πολεμου του παρε-		και βουλομενος προ-
45	στωτος εξαιφνης		τερον ειδησαι ταπο
	αναστας και προανα-		των ανθρωπ[ω]ν
	κρουσαμενος επι		
	του βημματος οτι βου-		Col. iv
	λεται περι των συμ-	80	One line lost
	φεροντων διαλεχθη-		
50	ναι τωι δημωι και		σ[
	[τω]ν ανθρωπ[ω]ν των] πε [ρι]		τω[
			α.[
			ε[
			[
	Col. iii	85	[
	.....]. κε[[
	.....]αιτης[...]. α.[		ντο[...].[
55	.....]. αλλαξ[.] και		[
	.....]ουτων .[...]. ει		[
	[...]. τε συνεσ[τω]τας	90	[
	[...].τος παρην κ[αι] λο-		αποκατε[
	γους πλειους διετιθε-		[...].εαπεσε.[
60	το των δ ανθρωπων		[...].ησαντω[ν] δε των πο-
	καταπεπληγμενων	95	λιτων προσπα[
	επι τηι τανδρος τολ-		κατηγορησεν με[ν] Αμυλ-
	μη και των μεν ε[πι]		κου και της περι[ε] αυ[το]ν
	θορυβουντων αυτογ		ωμοτητος διεβαλ[λε]
65	τω[ν] δε κελευονταν		δε τον Διογνητην [ως]
	λεγειν επι δε τω[ν]		οί[τα] ταραχωδη κα[ι]

100	[...]τωι ε.[	Col. v	. . . . .
	[		. . . . ησε. . [
	[		]τα τ[ο]ν Διο[γνητον
	[		]εγνω προ.[
	ροις τα[	110	]προσαγαγω[ν
105	τ[. . .]τυχο[		Συ]ρακουσαις κ[
	. [. . .] . ρ[		π]ολυορκιαν ψ[
	. . . . .		] συστησας [
	. . . . .		]ε. [

Fragments

i	ii
. . . [	]νεξε
ανα]στας[	]ο πλη
]νεβου[	]επε
το]ν Διογ[νητον	. . . . .
5]καθυσ[τερ	v
]ει. [ . . . ] [	]ετω[
. . . . .	]ντ[
iii . . . . .	]λε. [
]υς μεν	. . . . .
]πεμψαγ	vi
]κα[]	. [ωψ[
]ον τοις	]ενυ[
5]τειχη	]επε[
]εφω	. . . . .
. . . . .	]νιπ[
iv	5] . . . [
]νρ. [	. . . . .

‘. . . (some) seized the ridge overlooking Albus Tunes, fortified it, and caused much trouble to Agathocles and his men. They barred them from the roads, both that leading to Neapolis and those which led eastwards; and without having to fight, they foraged over the whole of the neighbouring countryside, and with the rest of their force made an expedition against the inland population and detached them too from the Greeks, and once again assembled a force of them as allies. Now as the war gained strength

‘. . . while the Syracusans, since their common people were unfitted for war, set a guard on the city itself. Such being the state of affairs, Diognetus surnamed Phalaenius, who had been corrupted by Hamilcar and the exiles, and hired to bring the city over if he could, suddenly stood up in the midst of the assembly while the Syracusans were deliberating about the war in progress, prelude his remarks on the platform by saying that he wished to speak to the populace about their interests and about the men associated with . . . [to reconcile] . . . [conspirators] . . . was himself present and delivered a long address. While men were aghast at the fellow's audacity, some of them trying to shout him down, others again bidding him speak, the majority, however, being held in the grip of speechlessness and playing safe lest there might arise some disturbance in the city, Antander rose and arranged his removal from the assembly. After securing him, wishing first to find out information about the men who . . .

‘made accusations against Hamilcar and his cruelty and attacked Diognetus as a trouble-maker’

Col. i A strip has been lost on the left-hand side equivalent to about four letters at the top and more towards the foot, where the writing probably shared the common tendency, seen also in the other columns of this text, to begin progressively farther over to the left. Between ll. 7 and to there is a bad patch of papyrus which the scribe seems to have deliberately avoided.

The suggestion, glanced at in the Introduction, to make Agathocles and his soldiers the subject of the verbs in this column could be achieved by restoring ll. 8–11 πολλά πρά[γματα] παρείχοντο [οί] περί τὸν Ἀγαθο[κλέα], and, at the beginning of l. 22 [βαρβάρ]ων or [Φοινίκ]ων instead of [Ἑλλή]ων. It is scarcely tolerable, however, to postpone to such a point the subject of a sentence that begins with a principal verb, especially if the hypothesis that it begins with μέν is right; the Greek for ‘to cause trouble’ is πράγματα παρέχειν, not παρέχεται, and the phrase badly needs an expressed indirect object. Moreover the restoration το[ύ]των in l. 14 is acceptable if it picks up a reference to τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀ., but is otherwise without reference. On a question of fact, the ἄδφος does not suit the Greek camp in Diodorus' account. Agathocles is said to camp (xx. c. 8) ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, (c. 17) παρεμβολὴν πλησίον τοῦ Τύνητος ὀχυρωσάμενος, while the Carthaginians in their attack (c. 17, 2) τῆς μὲν Ἀγαθοκλέους στρατοπέδειας ἐκυρίευσαν, τῆ πόλει δὲ μηχανὰς προσαγαγόντες συνεχῆς προσβολὰς ἐποιούοντο. This last consideration apart, stylistic considerations seem absolutely to require the restoration πρά[γματα] παρείχον το[ῖς] πέ[ρ]ι τὸν Ἀ.; and once this is granted, the subject of the other verbs must also be ‘the Carthaginians’.

3 μὲ μέν is very uncertainly read. For καταλαμβάνομαι λόφον cf., e.g., Polyb. 1, 19, 5; Diod. xx 10, 6; 39, 5.

6 The scribe has written Τύμητι for Τύνητι, probably by mere error. Λευκὸς Τύνης (Albus Tunes) is placed 2,000 stades from Carthage by Diod. xx 8, 7, yet in c. 17, 5 its besiegers flee in panic into Carthage. The site of modern Tunis, 14 miles west of Carthage, is generally agreed to be the only possible position for it. Cf. RE s.v. Tunis; H. J. W. Tillyard, *Agathocles*, p. 109.

11 seqq. Νέα πόλις is implied by Diod. xx 17, 1 to be an ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κειμένη πόλις, in c. 44, 1 the name is mentioned as that of a suburb of Carthage. Tillyard, p. 123 (cf. Windberg in RE s.v. Neapolis 26), identifies it with Nabel in the bay of Hammamet. If the Carthaginian suburb is meant here, the roads πρὸς ἑὸν are presumably the roads into the Cape Bon peninsula and to Hadrumetum; if Νέα πόλις is Nabel, the other roads are presumably those leading to Carthage. In either case Agathocles would have been prevented from moving north-east and south-east from Tunis. The ban on movement in the latter direction would not only hinder access to the Gulf of Sousse, but also stop supplies from the rich (Diod. xx c. 8) area of Megale polis in the Cape Bon peninsula, while the Carthaginians could forage in this area without fighting.

16 προνομείω: cf. Diod. xx 18, 2 (Agathocles) προσέπεισεν . . . τοῖς τε προνομείουσι τὴν χώραν.

17 The first visible letter is part of ε rather than η (ἦμ might suggest πάση). ἀμαχ[ε]i exempli gratia.

20 It is tempting to restore ἐ]πι τοὺς ἀνω | [τόπους, cf. Diod. xx 17, 6 (Agathocles) εἰς τοὺς ἀνω τόπους τῆς Λιβύης διενεῖτο στρατεῖαν. The trace before ἀφίστασαν, however, is upright, not rounded, and appears to be part of ι or ν rather than σ. It suggests, e.g., συ]μαφίστασαν or even κα] ἀφίστασαν. In the former case one might suggest, e.g., στρατεῖσαν[τες ἐ]πι τοῖς ἀνω[τέρω (or ἀνωθε) συ]μαφίστασαν [καὶ τὸ]ν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν [Ἑλλή]ων.

26 ἐ]ρεστῶτος is an alternative restoration.

Col. ii 35 φελαίνιος, a coinage from φάλανα 'a whale' (a term applied to Cleon in Aristoph. *Wasps* 35, 39), because of his great intake.

36 The meaning of the marginal diplē is unknown. For other examples of its use in prose texts see 2101 and P. Hawara 15 (both Xenophon), 1241 v 5, etc. (Miscellany), 1248 115 and 2102 iii 1 (both Plato), P. Ryl. 55, 33 (Herodotus). Of its use in Platonic texts Diog. Laert. iii 66 says διπλή πρὸς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ἀρέσκοντα Πλάτωνι.

46 προανακρουσάμενος: the single compound ἀνακρούομαι is used in this sense by Polyb. iv 22, 11.

Col. iii 54 e.g. ἀ]π]αυτήσ]αυ]τας.

55 Probably some part of a compound of ἀλλάσσω is to be recognized (e.g. κα]ταλλάξ]αι).

58-59 These verbs should probably be regarded as giving the content of Diognetus' harangue in the assembly, namely that he had been present at a meeting of conspirators or would-be negotiators (cf. τῶν ἀνθρώπων ll. 52 and 79) and had addressed them. For λόγους διατίθεσθαι cf., e.g., Polyb. iii 111, 6, Diod. xii 17, 5.

78 The first aorist infinitive εἰδῆσαι is cited by LSJ from the Ionic of Hippocrates, from Aristotle, *EN* 1150^b27 and Theophrastus *Characters*, Proem. 4. Mayser, *Grammatik d. Gr. Papyri* I² ii p. 145 offers four examples from Ptolemaic papyri.

Col. iv 91 Possibly ἀποκατε]στησε (ὡστε μή?) | δ]ιαπεσε]ν. θορυ|β]ησάντω]ν (or ἐπαι|ν]ησάντω]ν) δὲ κτλ.

94 πρὸς πᾶ]ντας?

96 τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμότητος: for the periphrastic phrase with περὶ = 'and his', cf. Isocr. 4, 179 τῆν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην; Plato, *Phaedrus* 279 a οἱ περὶ Λυσίαν λόγοι = 'the speeches of L.'; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5, 4, 2 διαπυθόμενος . . . τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τῆν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα; Diod. xx 79, 2 (Deinocrates) τῆ ἡγεμονία τῆ τότε οὔση περὶ αὐτὸν εἰρηροσεῖτο.

Col. v The fragment is detached from the main piece, but a continued set of horizontal fibres can be traced which suggests that l. 107 should be placed level with l. 89.

Fragm. i: could just possibly be attached at the foot of col. iv, but the join thus made is not very convincing.

Addendum: Lexical coincidences support the argument that 2399 is a source of Diodorus. Note ἀξιώμαχος, Diod. xx 7, 5; προνομεῖν, 18. 2; ἐγχερεῖν with infinitive, 31. 3; δειλία συνεσχημένους, 34. 4. I owe one or two suggestions also to Dr. P. Maas and Mr. E. A. Barber.

2400. SUBJECTS FOR DECLAMATIONS

8.5 × 11.5 cm.

Third century.

The eighteen lines of this text, written without punctuation in a not very well-executed third-century hand of the common angular type on the verso of a tax-register of the late second century, list ὑποθέσεις for rhetorical μελέται. Each topic is set out as a grammatical sentence: first the name of an historical or literary personage, then an aorist participle recording an action of that personage, followed by a verb in the present indicative. If the declamation is to be forensic, the verb is one of accusation, the subject of the charge is put in the genitive case, and the time-framework for the declamation may be expressed in one or more genitives absolute; if it is to be symbouleutic or epideictic, the verb may be more general. The aorist participle records a well-authenticated action of the personage in question, the succeeding finite verb puts him in an imaginary situation. There is an exact parallel for this manner of stating the subject of a μελέτη in Libanius, *Declamatio xxiii ἐκδοθεῖς Φιλίππῳ Δημοσθένους καὶ ἀφεθείς μὴ πολιτευόμενος κρίνεται δημοσίᾳ*.

The topics mentioned in the papyrus may represent the stock in trade of a travelling rhetor, or may have been copied from a standard list. Including, as they do, an accusation of Cleon for his notorious proposal of 428 B.C. to put to death the male population of Mytilene, and a prosecution or defence of Euripides on a charge of impiety, as well as the commoner topics connected with Alexander the Great, they are a reminder of the fidelity of the schoolmasters of third-century Oxyrhynchus to their classical heritage.

I am grateful to Professor A. W. Beare of Bristol University for suggestions which led to the recognition of the nature of this text.

.. κ[.]·α[.]·[.]α[
 Κλεωνα γρα[ψ]αντα
 αποκτειναι Μιτυλη-
 ναιων τους ηβωντας
 5 γραφοντε δημοκοπιου
 αντιποντος Διοδοτυ
 και μηκετι αναρθεβεν-
 των των παρα Μιτυλη-
 ναιους ακμαζοντων
 10 Ευρειπιδης Ηρακλεα
 μανομενον εν Διο-
 νυσις ποιησας εν δρα-
 ματι κρινεται ασεβει-
 ας Α(λε)ξανδρ[ο]ς Θηβας κα-
 15 τασκαμας διδ[ω]σιν Αθη-
 ναιους την γ[η]ν γεωρ-
 γεν Δημαδη[ς] συ[μ]βου-
 λευει λα. . . . μ. . . .
]·[]·[

5 l. γράφονται

6 l. ἀντιπόντος

10 l. Εὐρεπίδης

'For proposing to put to death the male population of Mytilene Cleon is accused of demagogy, the moment being after Diodotus has spoken against him but before the persons of adult age in Mytilene have been executed. For showing Heracles going mad in a play at the Dionysia Euripides is put on trial for impiety. After he has sacked Thebes Alexander offers their land to the Athenians to cultivate. Demades counsels . . .'¹

¹ At end perhaps]ψ[α[ι, less probably]ε[τ]α[ι or]σ[θ]α[ι.

³ *Μιτυληναίων*. The spelling *Μιτυλ-* replaces *Μντιλ-* at about 300 B.C. (R. Herbst in *RE* s.v.), and is frequent in the medieval codices.

⁴ *ἡβώντας*: Thuc. iii 36, 2 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄπαντας Μιτυληναίους δοῖν ἡβώσαι. It would hardly be possible to compose this *μελέτη* without reading Thucydides.

⁵ *δημοκόπιον* neuter does not occur elsewhere. The first citation for *δημοκοπία* in LSJ is from Dionys. Hal. 6, 60. The term is not sufficiently specific to be the subject of a formal charge, nor is it mentioned among the *γραφαί* of Athenian law.

¹⁰ The tradition about the prosecution of Euripides for impiety cannot be traced back beyond the *Life* by Satyrus, who attributes the prosecution to Cleon (1176 fr. 39 x 15-20). If the formulations in this papyrus could be regarded as containing any kernel of historical truth, it would be of great interest to have confirmation of the prosecution, and to see the source of it in the *Hercules Furens*, the date of performance of which would have in consequence to be placed before Cleon's death in

422 B.C. The formal analysis of these sentences set out in the introduction, however, is a warning against drawing any historical inferences from the word *κρίνεται*. Equally 'Ηρακλέα μανόμενον is not to be treated as the title of the play: in *ἐν δράματι*, *ἐν* is used in an instrumental manner, 'by means of a play', cf. Kühner-Gerth ii 1, 465; *UPZ* 48, 13 *διαλυόμενα ἐν τῷ λυμῷ*.

18 *Λακεδαιμονί[ο]υς* cannot be verified.

EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2401. TERENCE, *Andria*

Plate

Folio 1. 18.5 × 30.8 cm.

? Fourth century.

Two leaves, perhaps originally conjoint, of a papyrus codex, of which the first is nearly complete, the second badly mutilated. A complete page measured approximately 22 × 31 cm. with 34 or 35 lines to the page, an upper margin of 3.5 cm., a lower margin of 5.5 cm., and an outer side margin of 5 cm. In the hand elements derived from rustic capital, Greek, and cursive can be detected; but although the influence of cursive is most marked in the shapes of individual letters, the total effect is that of a book hand, handsome and singularly homogeneous; it has some resemblance to 668 (the Epitome of Livy) and some to P. Ryl. iii. 478, but it is more compact and elegant than either of these, and I know of no really close parallel to it. Of the individual letters *c* and *e* are narrow, *a* is of the Greek type, *g* is usually of the common uncial shape (though in l. 641 ζ is found), *m* is uniformly square and angular. The first hand made a number of corrections, inserted commas erratically as aids to reading, and added a few quantity marks and perhaps the Greek glosses; the corrector, using a darker ink, has put in a number of interlinear corrections and placed some omitted lines at the top of the page. He has also contributed to the punctuation; but no attempt is made in the transcription to distinguish points inserted by him from those of the first hand. Crasis and elision are avoided. This accords well with the impression that it shares in the general tendency to make Terence less archaic and thus more intelligible, a tendency which has affected the Calliopians in varying degrees, and to some extent also the Bembinus. Line division is mostly observed but wholly disregarded in vv. 607–24. It is not always correct in the canticum, vv. 625 seqq., and elsewhere.

For the first of the two sections contained in the papyrus the text depends entirely on mediaeval manuscripts deriving from the recension of Calliopius (CP = γ , DGL p = δ , E v η = mixed class). For the second the ancient Bembinus (A) is available as well as the Calliopians (with the addition of V in the δ class, and ϵ instead of η in the mixed class). The collation given in the notes is based mainly on Kauer's apparatus in the Oxford Text. The notes cover the passages where the papyrus offers new readings, and those where the testimony of the manuscripts or the ancient commentators is significantly divided.

The text of the papyrus does not compare very favourably with that of manuscripts. It is often faulty where the manuscript transmission is sound: 602, 608, ?612, 618, 622, 629, 647, 655, 657, 926 (distribution of speakers), 933, 935, 937, 939, 942, ?943,

962 seq., 973 (the same transposition also in one δ class Calliopian). In three of these instances (618, 622, 655) the false reading is found also in the lemma of Donatus. The papyrus does, however, seem to represent the truth several times, as against the manuscripts; (a) Calliopians only: 616, 647, 661 (the same reading in one δ class Calliopian); (b) Bembinus and Calliopians: 928 (confirming Bentley's emendation), 957 seq. (confirming G. Hermann's colometry), 973 (so also one Calliopian of the mixed class).

The papyrus further differs from A and the early Calliopians in carrying the second ending of the play (see note on 976). Where the Bembinus and the Calliopians diverge it shows no affinity to either recension; the false readings it shares with \mathcal{L} in 934 and 939 are trivial, that in 938 is doubtful; it is correct with A in 945 (absence of interpolation) and 969, with \mathcal{L} in 971. The same holds where one branch of the Calliopians goes with A as against the other: the papyrus never shares corruption with either side, but is correct with A + γ in 961, with A + (part of) δ in 927, 945, 959, 962 (*optam*), 974, 975, with δ (and E) against A + γ in 944 (*egomet*) and in beginning a new scene at 965 (so also Donatus).

All this seems to indicate detachment from our manuscript transmission. But, on the other hand, the papyrus shares corruption with the Calliopians (in the absence of A) in 607, 610, 616, 619, and whilst, where γ and δ are divided, it is free from corruption with γ in 627/8, 631, 664, and with δ in 647, and may be right with γ in 613 (*facere id*), it is certainly wrong with δ *ibid.* (*pollicitus sum*), 637 (trivial), and 665. Particularly significant are two lines where a word omitted (614) or added interlinearly (962) in the papyrus is not firmly anchored in the manuscripts (compare also 611).

For the notes on the text and the textual comment in this introduction we are indebted to Professor O. Skutsch.

TRANSCRIPTION A

Folio I verso

- 605 .rumfe[.]ellinut[.]asco.[
 602 fecihodie[.]tf.erent[
 604 hemastutia^oquodsiquies.[
 606 utinam. ihiesetaliquid[...]. .[
 pamph...s da[.]us
 adulescens seruus
 est
 .biillicestscelus, quime, perdidit da.[
 adquehōçconfitoreiuremihiobst.[.]. i[
 ius'
 taminerstammulliconsiliisum·seru.n[
 ...e
 609/10 mēc. mm. sissefutt. i. ergopraetiumōbšt.[
 auf
 id, numq. amferet·dāpost, hac, incolumemsa[
 inunc
 si, de. .to, hocmalum·pānmamquid, egonunc d[
 negabouelle, [.]m. modo quipollicitussum d[
 cf
 614/5 facere, id, audeam·necquid, nuncfaciamscio.[.....]dem[
 adq^o[.] . agosedulo·dicam, aliquid, iam[.]mei[.....]umū[
 [.]as. e
 aliquamproducamm[.] . am·pāohdā·uis. ssum[.....]mb.[
 quidaisuiden, me, tuisconsiliis miserum impedi[.]dāa[
 dā
 pā expedies·certepamphile·pānempeutmodo·dā[.]mm[.] . i. iusspe[
 pā oh, tibiegocredam·furfifer·tureminpeditam, e[.]rditam
 619/20 restituashemqu. fretussiem·quimeh. d. .[.]x. r. . quill.[
 e[.] . iē hoc
 coniecisti in nuptias·ann. ndixisse futurum. .[.]ixti·pa[
 a^o . p. [.....]
 dā crucem·sedsinepaululum, adme, utredeamiamal. .[.]id
 dīspiciam^opāeimihī. . nnonhabeospatium. tde. es. .[
 utuolo·namq^o·hoc tempus praecaueremihī[.] . hant[
 charinus pamphilus .[.] . us
 . . l. s. . ns adulescens . . rpus
 625 ch hocineest, credi. . . e, autmemorable
 tantau[.]a]ecordia, innatacuiquam. s. .

TRANSCRIPTION B

Folio I verso

- erum fe[f]elli; in nupt[i]as con[ieci erilem filium;]
 feci hodie [u]t fierent [insperante hoc atque invito Pamphilo.]
 hem astutia! quod si quiesse[m, nil evenisset mali.]
 605 se[d eccum ipsum video: occidi.]
 utinam mihi esset aliquid [hic quo nunc me praecipitem darem!]
 PAMPHILUS DA[v]us
 ADULESCENS SERVUS
 PA. Ubi illic est scelestus qui me perdidit? DA. P[er]ii.
 PA. Atque hoc confiteor iure mihi obst. .[
 tam iners tam nullius consilii sum. servon [fortunas meas]
 609/10 me commisisse futtili! ergo pretium ob stu[ltitiam fero: sed inultum]
 id numquam auferet. DA. posthac incolumem sa[t scio fore me]
 si nunc devito hoc malum. PA. nam quid ego nunc d[icam patri?]
 negabo velle me modo qui pollicitus sum d[ucere? qua audacia]
 facere id audeam? nec quid nunc faciam scio. D[A. nec qui]dem [me]
 614/5 atque [i]d ago sedulo. dicam aliquid iam me in[ventur]um u[t huic malo]
 aliquam producā m[o]ram. PA. oh! DA. visu' sum. [PA. eho
 du]m, bo[ne vir,]
 quid ais? viden me tuis consiliis miserum impedi[tum?] DA. a[t iam
 expediam.]
 PA. expedies? DA. certe, Pamphile. PA. nempe ut modo. DA. [i]mm[o
 m]elius spe[ro.]
 PA. oh tibi ego credam, furcifer? tu rem inpeditam e[t pe]rditam
 619/20 restituas? hem quo fretus siem, qui me hodie [e]x tranquill[issima] re]
 coniecisti in nuptias. an non dixi esse hoc futurum? DA. [d]ixi.
 PA. [quid meritu's?]
 DA. crucem. sed sine paululum ad me ut redeam: iam aliq[ui]d
 dispiciam. PA. ei mihi cum non habeo spatium ut de te sum[am sup
 plicium]
 ut volo! namque hoc tempus praecavere mihi [me] haud [te ulcisci sinit.]
 CHARINUS PAMPHILUS D[A]VUS
 ADULESCENS ADULESCENS SERVUS
 625 CH. Hocine est credibile aut memorabile,
 tanta vecordia innata cuiquam ut sit

ut, malis gaudeant adque ex incomp[.]d[

^{.λερ.ε}
sua, ut conp. rēnt commoda ah

id est uerum immo id est genus homin[um]

630 pessimum in denegando modo quis pudor [pa]ulum ad[est];

post, ubi tempus promissa iam perfici, tum [c]oacti ne [cessario se aperiant,]

et timent et tamen res eos premit, denegant;

ibi, tum, eorum in pudentissima [o] [q]

Folio 1 recto

635 c. 27 ll.]m[. .]i·heus·

c. 26 ll.]·[.]m.n. ubi fide. . . st

c. 25 ll.]sest

c. 16 ll.]ib.u.[.]ntur·

c. 15 ll.]mne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expo. [.]
ulem·

640 c. 15 ll.]ue aliquis dicat nihil promoueris
i εργασει

c. 16 ll.]c[.]rtee fuerat adque animo morem gesser[.]·^o

c. 15 ll.]e inprudens nisi quid di. espici. nt per d[.]·[

c. 12 ll.]den stande in uenta est causa. o luisti fidem
προφασις

c. 12 ll.]·etiam nunc me ducere istis dictis postulas
ch

645 c. 13 ll.]postquam me amare dixi conplacita est tibi

c. 14 ll.]um qui tuum, animum, ex animo spectavi
ελογισα[

. . .]sus est non tibi satis [.] hoc solidum, uisum est gaudium^o

^{επατησας}
]si melactasses, amantem et, alsaspe produceres

. . .]eas pahabeam hanc scis quantis [.] n malis uerser miser^o

650 [.]·[.]·as que hic suis consiliis mihi confecit sollicitudines

meus carnufex·ch·quid istuctam mirum est detesie exemplum capit
[.]·[.]·st iudic[.]·ssicogno. isuel me uel amorem meum.

. . .]umpat [.]·[.]·st idudum et [.]·[.]·u. . propterea tibi

. . .]sc[.]ns . . . eç . . . i. ithodie. gere illam ut duceres

655 . . .]m [.]·[.]·st us iserumnas meas^o τας φρονιδας

ut malis gaudeant atque ex incomm[.]d[is alterius]

sua ut comparent commoda? ah

id est uerum; immo id est genus homin[um]

630 pessimum in denegando modo quis pudor [pa]ulum ad[est];

post ubi tempus promissa iam perfici, tum [c]oacti ne [cessario se aperiant,]

et timent et tamen res eos premit, denegant;

ibi tum eorum in pudentissima ora[tio est] 'q[uis?]

Folio 1 recto

635 [tu es? quis mihi es? quor mea]m t[ib]i? heus

[proximus sum egomet mihi.' at] t[a]men 'ubi fides est?'

[si roges nihil pudet hic ubi opus est;

[illi ubi nihil opus est] ibi verentur.

[sed quid agam? a]dea]mne ad eum et cum eo iniuriam hanc expos[t]ulem?

640 [ingeram mala multa? atq]ue aliquis dicat 'nihil promoueris':

[multum: molestus] c[e]rte ei fuero atque animo morem gesser[.]·

[PA. Charine, et me et t]e inprudens, nisi quid di respiciunt, perd[i]d[i].

[CH. itane 'inpru]dens'? tandem inventa est causa: solvisti fidem.

[PA. quid 'tande]m'? CH. etiam nunc me ducere istis dictis postulas?

645 [PA. quid istuc est? CH.] postquam me amare dixi, conplacita est tibi.

[heu me miser]um qui tuum animum ex animo spectavi m[eo]!

[PA. fal]sus es. CH. non tibi satis hoc solidum visum est gaudium,

[n]isi me lactasses amantem et falsa spe produceres?

[hab]eas. PA. habeam? ha nescis quantis [i]n malis verser miser

650 [q]u[an]tasque hic suis consiliis mihi confecit sollicitudines

meus carnufex. CH. quid istuc tam mirum est de te si exemplum capit?

[PA. . .]s. t istuc dic[.]s si cognoris vel me vel amorem meum.

[CH. scio:] cum patr[e] alte]rcasti dudum et [i]s [n]unc propterea tibi

[su]sc[e]nset nec te quivit hodie cogere illam ut duceres.

655 [PA. im]m[.]o etiam quo]min[.]u]s tu scis aerumnas meas,

970 .. pateramicuſſummusnobi[...]qu[...] . hrem[
 .. eçmora u. laestquineamuxorem . [
 .. quaçeu . g .] . nsuoluit . pāfumdēp[
 solyſeſquemdid . ligant] p[
 conloquar . . quiseſtochariņe . . t . [
 975 h̄ benefactumaud[.] m̄ . [. .] . g[
 tuueſt nuncch[
 p̄a meminiad^o . [
 ch̄ m̄ . [.] o[
 ch̄

602 On the upper half of this sheet most of the left margin is missing and with it the names of the speakers.

606 A line has been drawn by m¹ above *pamph...* and another above *da[.]us*.

610 *ful. li*: before *l* either *u* or *i* followed by an erasure.

613 After *uelle* room for one or perhaps two letters: either an erasure or space left blank.

615 After *iam* faint traces of ink; *iam* perhaps written again and then erased by m¹. Across last letter in line a mark (◊) in m².

623 Both first and second hands placed a point after *dispiciam*.

624 Last letter of line definitely not *d*. Above *praeauere* perhaps very faint traces of Greek letters.

625 Line drawn below this line is presumably paragraphus.

626 At end of line *sit* more likely than *siet*.

640 *promoueris* corrected from *promouerit* by m¹ who probably added Greek gloss.

642 Faint traces of writing above *espici*.

643 Small space left before *fidem*, probably because surface of papyrus was damaged.

646 After *qui* space of one letter and trace of ink; probably erasure, but just possibly *quia* was written.

647 At end of line faint traces of writing in m¹. Writing above line also in m¹: final letter perhaps *e*, but not preceded by *s*.

650 Writing above line in m¹.

651 *exepium*: m¹ wrote *pl* in ligature which m² failed to recognize. Greek letters above line in m¹.

658 *uolu*: followed not by *n* but by *p* or *t*, then an erasure.

661 Faint traces of writing in margin by m¹.

665 *ch* has been written over two other letters, possibly *pa*.

930 *s* above line in m¹; on grounds of space *rhamnusium* cannot have stood in full; possibly *us* omitted and added above line.

936 Before *illa* possibly *s*.

960 Greek above line in m¹; probably not *ηδovαs*.

969 Blank space left after *rep*. Point after *da* is unusually large and scribe may have begun to write *u*.

978 *m. mo* is a possible reading; of the first letter the top horizontal stroke is clear and though the letter is incomplete any reading except *m* is practically excluded.

970 PA. pater amicus summus nobi[s. DA.] qu[is? P]A. Chrem[es. DA.
 narras probe.]
 PA. nec mora ulla est quin eam uxorem d[ucam. CH. num illic somniat]
 ea quae vigilans voluit? PA. tum de p[uero Dave DA. ah desine!]
 solus es quem di diligant. CH. [sal]yu[s sum si haec vera sunt.]
 conloquar. PA. quis est? o Charine, in te[mpore ipso mi advenis.]
 975 CH. bene factum. aud[istin o]mn[ia?] ag[e, me in tuis secundis respice.]
 tuus est nunc Ch[remes: facturum quae voles scio esse omnia.]
 PA. meminī: atque[.
 CH. m. [.]o[
 CH.

602 *inul*: in *nup(tias)* codd.; cf. 667.

604 *hem*: so or *em* codd. Note that the word is attached to 604, not to the end of 603.

astutia: so or *astutias* codd.

605 This line was added by the corrector in the upper margin.

607 The corrector, puzzled by *scelus qui*, emended to *scelustus (scelus scelustus intellegitur)* Donatus.

me perdidit: so all ancient MSS., Don(atus), Eugr(aphius); *perdidit me* most edd.; *me hodie* Bentley after some late MSS. (omitting *perdidit*).

608 Some form of *obstare* or possibly *ob stultitiam* (cf. 609–10); *obtigisse* codd.

610 *ergo*: so or *ego* codd.; *ergo* Servius, *Aen.* xii 352; *ego* ibid. ix 232.

id nunquam: so codd.; *nunquam id* most edd.

611 *ſi deuilo hoc malum: nunc si deuilo hoc malum* CPE v η Eugr. rec. α (*nunc si hoc deuilo malum* rec. β); *hoc nunc si deuilo malum* DGL p. The preceding line would be long enough without *nunc*, which the corrector has entered (together with *si*?) above *-uilo*.

612 *negabo: negabon* codd., edd.

613 *pollicitus sum*: so DL p Don.; *sum pollicitus* CPG p E v η, edd. The papyrus eludes the *crux* in the second half of the line.

facere id: so CPE v η; *id facere* DGL p Don. (lem.)

614 *nunc faciam: nunc me (de me G) faciam* DGL p Prisc.; *me nunc faciam* CP; *de me nunc faciam* schol. L, E v η.

nec quidem me: so or *nec quid eme* or *nec (ne) quidem de me* or *nec me quidem* codd.

615 *aliquid iam . . . me inuenturum: aliquid me inu.* CP; *aliquid me iam inu.* DGL p v η; *aliquid iam me inu.* E. Unless the gap in the papyrus was filled by erasure it may have read *esse*.

producam: so codd., Don.; 'et productam legitur' Don.; *productem* some edd.

616 *oh*: so edd.; *ohe* codd. (om. p¹, eho E).

tuis consiliis: so codd.; *consiliis tuis* most edd.

618 *ego credam*: so Don. (lem.); *ego ut credam* codd., edd.

619 *siem*: so codd.; *sim* most edd.

621 *esse hoc futurum*: so CPDL p v η, edd.; *esse futurum hoc E*; *hoc futurum esse G*; *hoc futurum*

Don. (lem.) Eugr. (lem.).

622 *ut redeam*: so Don. (lem.); *redeam* codd., edd.

627–8 *gaudeant . . . comparēt*: so CP¹ Don.; *-eat . . . -et* P²DGL p E v η Don. ('legitur et gaudeat et comparēt').

629 *id est uerum: idne est uerum* codd., edd.

630 *paulum*: om. CP¹; *paululum* DGE; other MSS. not recorded.

631 *lempus*: so CP¹ Don.; *lempus est (-pust)* all other MSS.

632 *se aperiunt* if not omitted altogether after *necessario* must have been written above the line.

- 633 *res eos premit: res premit (cogit P) CP v Don. (AB); res premit eos G p E η; res cogit eos DL Don. (V).*
denegant: denegare codd., Don.
 636 *fides est: so DGL; fides CP p E v η, edd.*
 637 *ubi opus est: so codd.; ubi opus* edd.
 639 *adeamne: so or adeom(e) codd.*
 647 *non: nonne* codd.
satis: satis esse CP p E v η; sat esse DGL.
solidum uisum: so DGL p; uisum solidum CPE v η.
 650 *suis consiliis mihi: mihi suis consiliis Don. (lem.).*
confecit: 'legitur et conflavit' Don.
 652 *.s. t: haud* codd.
 653 *altercasti: 'legitur et altercatus es' Don.*
 655 *quo minus tu: so Don. (lem.) (AV; quo minus (cett. om.) B; quo <tu> minus TC); quo tu minus* codd., edd.
 656 *hae: 'legitur et haec nuptiae' Don.*
 657 *ut ducerem: dare* codd., Eugr.; cf. 654 *ut duceres.*
 661 *ducturum: so p, Don. (lem.); esse ducturum* all other MSS. The space available shows that the papyrus did not read *esse*.
 664 *deos satis scio fuisse iratos: so CP p E v η; deos f. ir. satis scio DGL; deos fuisse iratos (cett. om.)* Don. (lem.) (d. s. s. f. i. T).
qui auscultauerim: so CPD η; qui ei ausc. L p E v; qui ausc. ei G.
 665 *hoc est: so codd. except P (est hoc).*
o scelus: so (oh) L p; scelus all other MSS., edd.
 926 *perge: here given to Simo; to Chremes* codd.
perge :: tum is: so codd. (is om. GV); perge tu :: is Bentley.
 927 There is space for two letters between *eg* and *audivi*, but the papyrus did not read *ergo*, with DL.
sese esse Atticum: so A GLV; se ciuem esse Atticum D p; sese Atticum esse CPE v.
 928 *is* here, as in codd. Not attached to 927.
cito: cito tibi codd., Don. lem. (ATCV; *tibi* om. B). The papyrus confirms Bentley's deletion of *tibi*, which modern editors have rejected in favour of various other arrangements.
 928-9 The papyrus gives *nomen . . . hem* to Crito, *perii* to one of the interlocutors, and *verum hercle* again to Crito. A gives all to Crito but has clearly lost at least one speaker's mark, since it repeats CR before *verum*. A³ and 'sunt qui' in Donatus give *hem* to Simo. A³ and Donatus give *perii* to Pamphilus, Donatus allowing that it may belong to Chremes. The Calliopians, according to J. Andrieu, *Les sigles de personnages*, Paris 1940, p. 15, give *hem perii* to Chremes (but P *hem* only to Chremes, *perii* to Simo), the rest to Crito.
 929 *certe: so GV; certo* all other MSS.
 930 *Chreme: so also 946.* The MSS. here and elsewhere are divided between *Chreme* and *Chremes*.
 931 Added in upper margin by the corrector.
 933 The papyrus omits Crito's (Simo's A) *quid ais* before Simo's (Pamphilus' A) *quid tu ais*.
PA. arrige etc.: so codd.; 'hoc Simo videtur dicere; ut alii putant, ipse Pamphilus' Don.
 934 *ille: so E; illic A.*
 935 *sequens: persequens* codd., Don.
 936 *illa: posilla A²E; posilla A¹.* The letter before *illa* apparently was not *t* (perhaps *s*), and the space appears too long for *post* alone; the point after it may have been inserted in error.
 937 *commotus: commotus est* codd.
 938 *tanto hoc t. r.: so DGLV; hoc tanto t. r. γ p; tantum t. r. hoc A.*
 939 *multis modis: so E, Don., Eugr.; multimodis A.*
inveniri tuam: tuam inveniri (-e A) codd.
 942 *aliquid: aliud* codd.
 943 *ego: egon A; egone E.*
 944 *egomet: so DGL p VE; ego ACP v.*

- 945 [*heus* (apparently): so A; *non patiar heus E*.
 The papyrus gives *ipsa est* to Chremes and *ea est* to Crito; so AD¹L; the other MSS. reverse this.
 946 *Chreme: cf. 930.*
 957 seq. *putet* in 958: so G. Hermann; *me* (om. V) *putet/non* (*non* in lac. A) codd. For the restoration needed in 957 only Hermann's *aliquis me forsitan (a. f. me codd.)* now seems to qualify.
 959 *deorum vitam: so A (? ego deor in lac.) DGL p V Servius; vitam deorum CPE v e.*
 961 *parata est: so A (? parlati in lac.) CPLE v e; parata est DG p V.*
est. [. . .]. ut: si n(ulla) (codd.) is too short for the space to be filled.
 962 seq. Charinus' interjection (speaker not marked here; assigned either to Charinus or to Davus by Donatus) and the subsequent speaker's notation *PA* are placed in 963 by codd., 962 ending in *dari*.
 962 *optem: so AL¹ Eugr. (lem.); exoptem* cett. codd.
mih: written here above the line after *optem*, read after *ego* in A p V (so edd.), after *potissimum* in CPE v e, after *quem* in G; L and Eugr. (lem.) omit it.
 963 *enarrem: not certain; narrem* codd.
 964 In beginning a new scene after this line the papyrus agrees with δ and Don. against ACPE.
 968 *tu: om. A¹.*
 969 *Glycerium mea: so A; mea Glycerium E.*
factum: so AGLV; o factum CPD p E v.
 971 *mora ulla est: so E (ulla mora est v); morast ulla A.*
 973 *es: so v²; est* cett. codd.
di diligant: so (dii) V (? Marouzeau; Linds.-K. do not record it); diligant di cett. codd. (*dii A; om. C*).
 974 *conloquar: so A p; adibo et conloquar* cett. codd. (-*quor* D^{VI}).
quis est? o Charine: quis (qui G) homost? o Charine codd.; edd. omit *o*.
 975 *aud.: so AD¹ p; hem (em C²P) aud. cett. codd.* There is no indication of a change of speaker in the papyrus after *factum* or before *omnia*. The papyrus may be presumed to have read *audistin: so codd.; audisti* edd.
 976 In all major MSS. this line is followed by five more, which conclude the play by announcing that Philumena will be betrothed to Charinus behind the scenes. While the first of these lines tallies with the papyrus as far as it goes, the following two are altogether different. Donatus and Eugraphius, on the other hand, were aware of an alternative and fuller ending inserted after v. 976, in which the betrothal was made by Chremes on the stage. This scene is preserved in some late MSS. and seems originally in the MS. transmission to have held the position attested by the scholiasts.¹ It cannot in its present form be identified with the version of the papyrus, since it begins *PA te expectabam*, and since, further, the appearance of Chremes would be marked by a change of scene. Ritschl, however (*Parerga*, pp. 598 seq.), saw that, to make it possible for a new scene to begin with *te expectabam*, Charinus' (976) *facturum quae voles scio esse omnia*, and Pamphilus' reply promising his assistance must have been followed by the announcement of Chremes' entry, and by some remark explaining why at the beginning of the new scene Chremes converses with Pamphilus alone, at some distance from Charinus and Davus. Ritschl therefore restored
CH tuus nunc est Chremes: facturum quae voles scio esse omnia.
PA memin: atque adeo ut volui commodum huc senex exit foras.
secede illuc aliquantisper. CH Dave, sequere hac me. DA sequor.
 A supplement on these lines can readily be made to square with the remnants of the papyrus by assuming for v. 977 a version similar to Ritschl's, for v. 978 a final brief appeal by Charinus followed by Pamphilus' command to him to stand back, and for v. 979 a statement by Charinus that he would listen from a distance, and perhaps an order to Davus to retire with him. Line 979 would then have been followed by the designation of a new scene and the alternative ending as read in the late MSS.

¹ For the attestation of this scene see *Rhein. Mus.* 100 (1957), pp. 53 seqq.. A third ending, in which Simo appears on the stage, is found in a MS. at Erlangen (391, s. xii). It is medieval and may here be disregarded.

2402. ARISTOTLE, *Ethica Nicomachea* viFr. i 4.5 × 6 cm.; fr. ii 4 × 6 cm. Middle second century. *Plate*

These two fragments of Aristotle's *Ethics* both preserve the left-hand side of a column and a portion of its margin. But there is no reason to suppose they are parts of the same column, and that the text is therefore an abbreviated version. The hand is a medium-sized, neat, informal round capital. It sometimes has two distinct forms for single letters, a more or less formal triangular *a*, for example, side by side with a quickly made rounded type. Its general style can be paralleled from several dated documents, e.g. from the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, or *P. Graec. Berlinenses* 22 a and b, and it is probably to be assigned to the early or middle second century. There is no punctuation and there are no accents, but a possible critical sign is found at one point. Iota adscript was not written.

Aristotle's philosophical writings have so far been sparsely represented in papyrus. Extant works have been identified to date only in a fragment of the *Analytica Posteriora* of the sixth or seventh century (*Philologus* 44 (1885) 21-29), and in one of the *Historia Animalium* of the second century (P. Reinach ii 80). 666, also second century, is assigned to the lost *Protrepticus*, and a few other pieces (see Pack's list) may be Aristotelian. The new evidence of 2402 and 2403 is therefore particularly welcome.

2402 though not without faults, offers a good text, and one substantially in agreement with that of the medieval codices. It lends no support to the theory of frequent interpolation. In conformity with general experience, the papyrus does not consistently agree with any single codex or family. Two codices have been particularly singled out since Bekker, K^b (Laurentianus 81. 11, 10th cent.) and L^b (Parisiensis 1854, 12th-13th cent.); 2402 is twice in agreement with L^b, once refuses to follow L^b in an idiosyncratic reading of the latter; and once it disagrees with all the codices and is probably in error. On one well-known difficulty its testimony would have been invaluable had an additional line been preserved.

Fr. i

[.....] ορθοτ[ης αληθεια] 1142 b 11
 [αμα δ]ε και ωριστα[ι ηδη παν ου]
 [δ]οξα εστιν αλλα μη[ν ουδ ανευ]
 [λο]γου η ευβο[υ]λια δ[ιανοιας αρα λει]
 5 πεται α[υτ]η γαρ [ο]υπω [φασις και γαρ]
 η δοξα ου ζητησις αλ[λα φασις τις]
 ηδη ο δε βουλευομ[ενος εαν τε]
 ευ εαν τε κακως β[ουλευηται]
 ζητει τι και λογ[ι]ζεται αλλ ορθο]
 10 της τις εστιν [η ευβουλια βουλης]
 διο δη βουλ[η] ζητητ[εα πρωτον]
 τι και περ[ι] τι επει δ η ορθο]
 της [

Fr. ii

ο[
 15 [.....]ει κα[ι]] 1144 a 6
 ευδαιμονιαν επι τ[ο] εργον απο]
 β
 τελειται κατα την [φρονησιν]
 και την ηθικην αρ[ετην η μεν]
 γαρ αρετη τον σκοπ[ον ποιει]
 20 ορθον η δε φρονησ[ις τα προς]
 [τ]ουτον του δε τεταρ[του μοριου]
 [τ]ης ψυχης ουκ εστ[ιν] αρετη]
 [το]ιαυτη του θρεπτ[ικου ου]
 [δε]ν γαρ επ αυτω πρα[ττειν η]
 25 [μη] πρα[ττειν]

3 ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . φάσις, secl. Giphanius, Rassow.

8 εἴαν τε κακῶς, L^bO^b Bekker; εἴαν τε καὶ κακῶς, ceteri, Susemihl, Bywater.

11 διὸ ἢ βουλῆ, codd., a superior reading since Aristotle appears to use the definite article with

an abstract noun when it is subject, and it is not his practice to reinforce *διδ* with *δή* (no example of this association is quoted in Denniston, *Greek Particles*, and the only instance traced in Aristotle is *Met.* 1070 a 18, where A^b omits *δή*). *διδ* is normally used alone, sometimes with *καί*.

Rassow deletes *διδ-περί τι*.

14 Possibly [*μέρος γάρ*] | *οἷδα τῆς ὅλης ἀρετῆς τῷ ἔχ[εσθαι ποί]εϊ*. But the supposed initial *ο* might also be read as *ε* or *σ*.

15 *καὶ ἐνεργεία εὐδαιμονία* K^b, *τῷ ἐνεργεῖν* L^bM^b, *ἐνεργεῖ* O^b, *εὐδαιμονίαν* L^bO^b, *τὸν εὐδαίμονα* M^b. The papyrus has minute traces only in l. 15. The second letter has a turned-up serif which suits only *ι* (or just possibly *ν*), the fourth letter is certainly not *ω*. *κ[α]τ[α]* cannot be read. After *κατ[α]*, to judge by the following lines, the loss is eight or nine letters. *κα[τ] ἐνεργεία* | *εὐδαιμονίαν* would perhaps suit the space better than *κα[τ] τῷ ἐνεργεῖν*, and, as suggested by H. Busse, *Hermes* xviii (1883), p. 142, might account for the corruptions and the variants.

17 Possibly the mark over λ, represented as a β, has some critical significance.

24 *ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν* L^b

2403. ARISTOTLE, *Categoriae*

Fr. i height 18.5 cm.

Early third century.

Four fragments from a roll containing Aristotle's *Categoriae*, written in a common type of angular upright hand, to be assigned to the early third century A.D. The scribe does not write iota adscript. For punctuation he uses the high stop, normally copied simultaneously with the text but once (l. 30) inserted later, the paragraphus, and the double dot (section ending l. 26), inserts an apostrophe between double mutes (*τυγ'χανει* l. 23), uses a superior line as contraction mark for final *ν* (*τυφλο* l. 31), and does not admit a number of cases of hiatus which are tolerated in the vulgate (l. 22 *αὐται δ ουκ*; l. 45 [*δηλον*] *δ οτι*).

The papyrus offers an excellent text. It has two readings not found in medieval codices or (to judge from Minio-Paluello's apparatus in his Oxford edition) in the commentators and versions, both of them probably right. Once it agrees with the Latin and Syriac versions against the Greek codices in an omission. Between the two codices on which Minio-Paluello founds his edition, n (= Ambrosianus L 93 of the ninth century) and B (= Marcianus 201, tenth century), the papyrus distributes its agreements impartially. It agrees in superior readings four times with n, three times with B. The papyrus offers no support to Minio-Paluello's hypothesis of a lacuna at the end of section 11 a, nor to his proposed transposition of 11 b 1-8. In general the papyrus confirms the soundness of the medieval tradition.

Manuscript evidence is reported from the apparatus of Th. Waitz, *Aristotelis Organon Graece* (Leipzig, 1844) when not cited by Minio-Paluello.

Fr. I

[*επιστη*] | *μη γε*]ρος οὐ[σα αὐτο ὀπερ ἐστὶν
 5 *ετερο]ν λεγετ[α]ι· τινος γὰρ ἐπι
 στημ]η λεγετα[ι· τῶν δὲ γε καθ' ἐ
 καστα ο]υδεν ἀ[ὐτο ὀπερ ἐστὶν
 10 *ετερ]ου λεγετα[ι· οἷον ἡ γραμμα
 τ]ικῆ οὐ λεγετα[ι τινος γραμμα
 τ]ικῆ· οὐδ' ἡ μο]υσικῆ τινος μου
 σ]ικῆ· ἀλλ[ἐἰ ἀρα κατὰ τὸ γενος
 15 *καὶ αὐτὰ] [πρὸς τι λεγονται· οἷον
 ἡ γραμμα[τ]ικῆ λεγεται τινος
 ἐ]πιστημ[η οὐ] τιν[ος γραμματι
 κ]ῆ· κα[ὶ ἡ μο]υσικῆ τ[ινος ἐπι
 σ]τημῆ [οὐ τ]ι]ρος μ[ουσικῆ·
 20 *ὡσ]τε αἰ κ[αθ' ἐκ]αστα [οὐκ εἰσι τῶν
 πρ]ος τι· λε[γομε]θα δὲ [ποιοὶ τῶν
 κα]θ' ἑκαστα[· τῶν] τῶν γ[ὰρ καὶ ἐχο
 μεν· ἐπιστ]ημ[ο]ν[ες] [γὰρ λεγομε
 25 *θα τῶ] ἐχειν [τ]ῶν καθ' ἐκαστα ἐπι
 στημῶν τ[ιν]α· ὡσ]τε [αὐτὰ] ἀν
 και ποιω[τ]η[τε]ς εἴησαν αἰ καθ' ἐ
 30 *καστα· καθ' ἅσπερ καὶ ποιοὶ λεγ[ο]
 μεθα· αὐτὰ] δ' οὐκ εἰσὶν τῶν πρὸς
 τ[ιν]· ἐτι εἰ τιν' ἔχει τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ
 35 *πρῶτον καὶ πρὸς τι ὄν· οὐδεν ἄ
 τοπον ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γε
 ρεσὶν αὐτὸ καταριθμεισθαι·
 40 *ἐπι]δεχεται δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν
 καὶ τὸ πασχειν ἐναντιότη********

11 a 24

11 b 1

Fr. 2

ουδετερ]ον αληθες· 13 b 21
 30 οντος δε ουκ αι αληθες· το γαρ ο
 ψιν εχειν Σωκρατ]η τω τυφλο
 ειναι Σωκρατη αντ]ικειται ως
 στερησις και εξις·] και οντος
 γε ουκ αναγκαιον θ]ατερον αλη
 35 θες ειναι η ψευδος·] οτε γαρ μη
 πω πεφυκεν εχειν] αμφοτε
 ρα ψευδη· μη οντος δε ολωσ του
 Σωκρατους και ουτ]ω ψευδη αμ
 φότερα και το οψιν αυ]τογ [εχ]ειμ
 40 και το τυφλον ειναι].[

Fr. 3

τ]ου ετερου [των εναντιων 14 a 13
 οντος] και το λοιπ[ον ειναι· οντος
 γαρ του] Σωκρατη [υγαινειν
 ουκ αν] ειη το νοσ[ειν Σωκρατη·
 45 δηλον] δ οτι και [περι

Fr. 4 (unplaced)

]το[
]δετ[
]ενο[

3 [των δε γε is restored as in n, in order to give the last part of the line the same length as the preceding and following lines.

9 αυται: B, Armenian and P Syriac versions have αυται των προς τι.

13 Codd. (except C e n) and Armenian version add λεγεται after επιστημη, an addition for which there is no room in the papyrus. It is noticeable, however, that this line consists of only nineteen letters, shorter than the average.

14 α omitted by n.

19 τινος C i and I Syriac version.

21 καθ' ας ποτε codd. (except n, Latin and I Syriac versions καθ' ας). περ is clearly superior to

ποτε, not wanted here to denote the category of date and otherwise meaningless. Possibly the error is due to misunderstanding of an abbreviation (π).

22 There are offsets of ink above this line.

23 τυγχάνει e f n, τυγχάνοι B, τύχοι u. το αυτό ποιόν και προς τι δν, e n u g and commentators; το αυτό προς τι και ποιόν δν (δν om. AB i) cett., and Armenian version. The line above δν in the papyrus is probably intended to cancel this word, i.e. to agree with B in its omission. There is no other testimony for the first και found in the papyrus.

25 τοις γένεσιν αυτό: the order is altered to αυτό τοις γένεσιν in C g, Armenian and Latin versions.

27 ἐπιδέχεται δε: δε omitted by e n i g. και before το ποσειν omitted by e.

28 και το πάσχειν, with the papyrus B, Olympiodorus, and v.l. in Ammonius, Philoponus, Simplicius. Others και πάσχειν.

30 The line cannot have contained θάτερον before αληθές. B and P Syriac omitted θάτερον here, but after αληθές n, B, and Armenian version added θάτερον δε ψεύδος, which is not in the papyrus.

31 το τυφλόν n, (τῷ γάρ—το τυφλόν di).

37 Either δ]ε as n or τ]ε as B.

40 Trace of a horizontal, perhaps part of a τ or γ or even π. Whether it is part of ἐπί, γε, or τῆς, it is likely that αυτόν was omitted after τυφλόν as in n.

2404. AESCHINES, *In Ctesiphontem* 51-53

Height 22 cm.

Second century. Plate.

This fragment which preserves two columns of Aeschines' speech *Against Ctesiphon* was a handsome manuscript, distinguished by broad upper and lower margins and intercolumnar spaces, and by the bold calligraphy of its handwriting. The scribe, identified not only by his general style but by his characteristic square omega and three-stroked μ with the writer of the Erinna papyrus PSI 1090 and of the Boeotian lyric verse published in 2373, I should assign to the second century A.D. He writes iota adscript regularly. The single accent (l. 52) may be the work of the first hand, but is more probably an addition by the second, who inserted the stops, a high stop to divide cola (e.g. ll. 40, 43, 44), a high stop in conjunction with a paragraphus (e.g. ll. 36, 50) to mark the close of a period, and once (l. 17) a stop in the low position with the effect of a comma. The second hand not only revised the text for errors but collated its readings with an exemplar different from that from which it was copied.

The text, which is free from the vagaries of the medieval codices, is of interest for two variants from their tradition (ll. 7, 44-47). In the second of these, at a place where the text had not even been suspected, there are two alternative readings, both superior to that of the manuscript tradition, no doubt both deriving from different ancient editions. A transposition made by Cobet is confirmed (l. 48). The papyrus is as tolerant of hiatus (l. 22 n., l. 38) as the manuscripts, and lends no support to the excisions or conjectures of Weidner. In its superiority over the medieval codices 2404 is in conformity with the general conclusion elicited from an examination of the papyri of Aeschines in the introduction to 1625 (cf. also the preface to V. Martin's Budé edition, i, pp. vii seqq.). It is the fifteenth papyrus text of Aeschines to be known (ten are enumerated in R. A. Pack, *The Graeco-Roman Literary Texts from Egypt* nos. 3-12; additional pieces are P. Fouad Inv. 222, published by M.-Th. Lenger, *Mélanges Joseph Hombert*, p. 87 (c. *Tim.* 53-54); P. Erlangen 11, identified by A. Oguse, *Chron. d'Ég.* 27 (1952), pp. 393 seqq. as *F.L.* 153; P. Hamb. 165 (*In Ctes.* 194-200); a fourteenth, in the possession of D. M. Robinson, is to be published by W. H. Willis).¹

¹ See TAPA 86 (1955) pp. 129-134.

Col. i		Col. ii	
	ἐπιτομη[ν· η τα	§ 51	[τριακοντα μκων]
	περ]ε την Κη[φισο-		30 αμα την τε εις αυ-
	δοτ]ου στρατ[ηγι-		τον υβριν και την
	αν κ]αι τον τω[ν νε-		του δημου καταχει-
5	ων] εκπλουγ [τον		ροτονιαν· ην εν
	εις] Ελλησπορ]νον		τοῖς Διονυσίοις κα-
	στ]ε̄εις ων [των		35 τεχειροτονησε
	τ]βρηρα[ρ]χ[ων Δη-		Μιδίου· ταρτα μεν
	μοσ]θενης κ]αι πε-	§ 52	ουν μοι δοκω και
10	ριαγ]ων τον σ]τρατη-		τα αλλα τα τουτοις
	γον ε]πι της μ]εωσ		ομοια υπ[ε]ρβησε-
	και] συναιτω[ν και		40 σθαι· ον προδιδους
	συ]νθυων και] συν-		υμας ουδε τον αγω-
	σπ]ενδων· κ]αι του-		να καταχαριζομε-
15	τω]ν αξιωθε]ις δια		νος· αλλ εκεινο φο-
	το] πατρικος α]ντωι		βουμενος· μη̄ μοι
	φι]λος ειναι. ο]υκ ω-		45 παρ υμων απαντη-
	κν]ησεν απ ε]ισαγγε-		σηι [[τι τοιουτων]]
	γελι]ας α]ν]του [κρι-		και [[το δοκειω]] δοξω
20	νο]μενου π̄ε̄ρι θα-		αληθη μεν λεγειν
	να]του κατη]γορος γε-		αρχαια δε και λι[[ε]]ιαν
	νε]σθαι· και] ταυτα	50	ομολογουμενα·
	ηδ]η τα περ]ι Μιδι-		καιτοι ω Κτησι-
	αν] και του]ς κον-		φων ὅτωι τα μεγα-
25	δυλ]ους ους ε]λαβεν		στα των αισχρων
			υτ
	εν] τηι ορχ]ηστραι		ο[[π]]ως εστι πιστα
	χο]ρηγος ων [και ως	55	και γνωριμα τοις
	α]πεδ[[ε]]το [		ακουουσιν ωστε

2 τὴν om. n.

5 ἐκπλοῦν: εἰσπλοῦν Laur. 60. 4 B. [τὸν εἰς]: εἰς τὸν e l.

7 δ̄ before εἰς add. manus secunda. ὅτε εἰς ᾧν, codd.

8 [Δημοσ]θένης as in d f a b m. Del. Weidner.

9 κ]αι περ]ι τὸν σ]τρατηγὸν]: so a b m k. και στρατηγῶν e l.

11 ε]πι τῆς μ]εωσ: so d f a b m. Del. Weidner.

12 συναιτῶ]ν: συναιτῶν codd.

- 14 κ[αὶ τοῦτω]: kai del. Halm, Weidner².
 16 πατρικόν Laur. 60. 4. αὐτῶν e k l d f.
 22 κα[ὶ ταῦτα ἦδη]: since the line would not be divided ταυτ|α and two complete letters are required before]η, the papyrus is likely to have had the same hiatus as appears in d f a b m. ταῦτ' ἦδη edd. plerique, ταῦτα δὴ Cobet, ἡ ταῦτα ἦδη q, Reiske.
 27 [καὶ ὡς]: kai om. g Laur. 57. 45.
 28 The first hand corrected his own error, but the second confirmed the correction with a supralinear ο. The end of the line seems to have been left blank.
 34 Διονύσου codd.
 38 Hiatus as in codd. πᾶλλα, edd.
 44 μὴ μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ τὸ δοκεῖν λέγειν μὲν ἀληθῆ, ἀρχαῖα δέ codd. (τὸ before δοκεῖν om. p Vat. 64). This reading probably originated in the omission of a complete line from the first version in the papyrus, by homoeoteleuton from the ι of σμη before τ in l. 46 to the ι of καὶ before τ in l. 47. This first reading appears to mean 'lest I be greeted on your part by some such thing as the impression of telling the truth but . . .', as if τι τοιοῦτον αὐὸν or ὡς kai stood in the Greek. For Aeschines' use of τι τοιοῦτον cf. i. 180 καὶ τι τοιοῦτον κατ' αὐτὸν ἐβλασφήμησεν ὡς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον . . . οἰκήσουσι, ii. 42 and 46 (both with ὡς), iii. 39 (without ὡς). The second hand, no doubt collating the text from a different exemplar, cancelled τι τοιοῦτον, added τις and θόρυβος, and altered τὸ δοκεῖν to δόξω (the first scribe had left the line rather short), so that his final reading is μὴ τίς μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαντήσῃ θόρυβος καὶ δόξω κτλ. ἀπαντᾶν παρὰ is much better suited with a concrete subject θόρυβος, and the construction is on all fours with Aeschines' usage elsewhere: i. 83 μείζων ἀπάντα παρ' ὑμῶν μετὰ γέλωτος θόρυβος; i. 164 ἔπειτ' οὐ πολλὰ κραυγὴ παρὰ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπαντήσεται; ἀληθῆ μὲν: this palmary transposition, confirmed by the papyrus, is due to Cobet.
 52 ὅτω: so d f a b m, Σ, Blass; ὅπου Weidner; ὅτου or ἐν ὅτῳ, Scheibe.
 54 οὕτως om. e k l d f.
 56 ὡστε: so e k Laur. 57. 45; ὡς a b m l.

2405. GLOSSARY TO HOMER, *Iliad* i

30 x 28.7 cm.

Second to third century

Remains of five columns written in a plain, ugly backward-sloping documentary hand on papyrus of very poor quality. A rather full word list covering *Iliad* i 58-128; for this type of text, see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* ii 303 seqq.; C. H. Roberts on P. Rylands 536 (vol. iii, p. 177); P. Collart in Mazon, *Introduction à l'Iliade*, p. 61. Calderini's conclusions about the relation of such texts from Egypt to the *Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, the Paraphrase of the *Iliad*, and the *Lexicon Homericum* of Apollonius Sophistes are further confirmed by the present text, which is doubtless, like others of its kind, a product of the schoolroom. The orthography is bad and corrections are frequent. The verso is blank.

The numbers in brackets represent the lines of the Homeric text. In the commentary the following abbreviations are used: D = *Scholia Minora sive Didymi*, Aldus, Venice 1521; Pa = Paraphrase of the *Iliad*, printed as an appendix to Bekker's

Scholia in Homeri Iliadem, Leipzig 1827; Ap = Apollonius Sophistes, *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. Bekker, Berlin 1833; Schol. A = Scholia on Venetus 454, ed. Dindorf, Oxford 1875; Schol. B = on Venetus 453, *ibid.* 1877; Schol. L = L. Bachmann, *Schol. in Hom. Il.*, Leipzig 1835; Schol. T = E. Maass, *Schol. gr. in Hom. Il. Townleyana*, Oxford 1877/8; Eust. = *Comm. in Hom.* Leipzig 1825/30 (vol. i cited by page and line).

		i	
(58)	[ανσ]ταμενος	[αναστας]	
(58)	[μετε]φή	μετε[πεν]	
(58)	[ωκως]	ταχυ[ς]	
(62)	[ερευομεν]	ερ[[ε]]τησωμεν	
(62)	5 [ιεργα	ι]ερεα	
(63)	[ονειροπολο]ν	τον δια των ο-	
		[νει]ρων μαντευομενον	
(64)	[τοσσουν]	τοσουτον	
(64)	[εχ]ωσατο	[[ο]]ργισθη	
(64)	10 [Φο]ιβος	ο καθαρως και αμι-	
		αντος	
(65)	[ει τ]αρ	αταρ	
(65)	[ο γε]	ουτος γε	
(65)	[ευχ]ωλης	ευχης	
(65)	15 [εκατο]μβης	μεγαλης [θυ-	
		σιας	
(66)	[αι κε]ν	ε[[ν]]αν	
	[αρν]αν	προβατ[ων]	
	[πρω]τογονων	νεων	
	20 [ρ]εξ' ε'ις	θυσ' ε'ις	
	[κλε]ιτην	ερδ[οξο]ν	
	[εκατ]ομβης	μ[εγαλης]	
		θυσια[ς]	
(67)	[λοιγ]ον	[ολεθρον]	
(67)	25 [αμ]υνε	α[]	
	[...]....	[]	

18 seqq. See commentary

22 seq. l. -βην, κτλ.

25 l. αμυνα

	ii		
(68)	[το]ισι	τουτοις	
(69)	[οιωνο]πολων [σκο]πων	ορ'ν'ιθο-	
(69)	30 [·]χ ^ο αριστος αριστος	εξοχως εξοχος	
(70)	ηδη	ηδει	
(70)	τα τ εοντα	τα οντα	
(70)	προ τ εοντα	'τα' προ[[ε]]γε-	
	35 νημενα		
(71)	ηγησατο γενετο	οδηγος ε-	
(71)	Ειλιον ιω	εις Ειλιον	
(72)	η[[·]]	την αυτου	
(72)	40 μαντοσυνην αν	μαντ[ε]ι-	
(72)	οι	αυτωι	
(72)	πορε	εδωκεν	
(73)	[σ]φιν	αυτοις	
(73)	45 [ευ]	καλως	
(73)	[φρο]γεων	φρονων	
(73)	[αγορησ]ατο	εξεκλησιασα-	
	το		
(73)	[μετ]ειπειν	μετειπεν	
(74)	50 [κεlea]ι	κελευεις	
(74)	[μυθ]ησασθαι	ειπειν	
(75)	[εκατ]ηβηλεταο	τοξοτου	
(76)	[τοι]	σοι	
(75)	[αν]ακτος	βασιλεωσ	
(76)	55 [ερε]ω	ερω	
(76)	[συ]νθεο	συνθου	
(77)	[η] μην	και μην	
(77)	[π]ροφρων	προν[ων?]	
(77)	[ε]πεσαν	λογοις	

(77)	60 [α]ρηξ'ε'ιν	βοηθησ[ειν]
(78)	[οιομ]αι	υπολαμ[βα]νω
(78)	[χολ]ωσ[[α]]μ[[η]]ν	οργι[σθη]σαι
(78)	[οσ]	οστις
(78)	[μεγα]	μεγαλωσ
(79)	65 [Αργει]ων	τ[ω]ν Ελλ[η]νων
(79)	[κρατεει]	κρατει[ε]

38 l. Πιον εισω 47 l. εξεκκλ. 57 l. η μεν

iii

(79)	Αχαιοι	οι Ελλ[η]νες]
(80)	χωσεται	οργισθησ[εται]
(81)	ειπερ	εανπερ
(80)	70 χαιρηει	ελαττον[ε]
(82)	οφρα	οπως
(82)	τελεσση	τελειωση
(83)	σαωσις	σωσεις
(84)	τον	τουτον
(84)	75 αμειβομενος	αγα-
		ποκρεινομενος
(84)	προσεφη[[γ]]	προσειπεν
(85)	μαλα	λιαν
(85)	θεοπροιον	το εκ θεου
	80 μαντευμα	
(85)	οισθασ	οιδασ
(86)	Δειξει φιλε	τω Διει
		προσφιλεστατε
(87)	ευχομενος	καυχω-
		μενος
(88)	ουτις	ουδεις
(88)	χθονι	τη γη
(88)	δερκομενοι	β[[ρ]]επ[οντες?]
		η βλε' πο'μειοιε

(89)	90	βαρειας	ισχυρα[s]
(89)		επ[[οιη]]σ' ε'ι	επενε[[γ]]-
		κ[[. . .]]	
(92)		ηυδα	ειπεν
(92)		αμομιων	α[γ]α[θος]
(93)	95	ου ταρ	[ο]υτε
(96)		τουνεκα	τουτου [χα-]
		ριω	
(97)		πριν	προτερον
(98)		ελικωπιδα	ευο[φθαλ-]
	100	μον	
(98)		δομεν	δου[αι]
(98)		κουρη	κορη
(99)		απριατην	ανευ πρασεως
(99)		αναποιω[[υ]]	ανευ λυ-
	105	τρων	
(99)		ιερην	μεγαλην
(100)		λασσαμενοι	εξιλασ-
		σαμενοι	
(100)		πεπιθυμεν	π[εισοιμεν]
	110	[.].ξ...ξ.[]
		[] . []

70 l. χερη; 73 l. σωσεις 75 l. απαμ.; ανταποκριν. 81 See commentary 82 l. Δι (bis); φιλον; προσφιλεστατον 89 seq. l. δερκομενοι; [-οντος]; -ομενου. η μενομε (sic) written first; the writer then added βλεπο as best he could 91 seq. l. επενεγξει? 94 l. αμμων; in following word traces perhaps suit αγαθος best; see commentary 101 l. δομεναι 102 l. κουρην; κορην 109 l. πεπιθοιμεν

		iv	
(101)		[τοισι	του]τοις
(102)		[ευρυ κρ]εμων	μεγαλης
		]. . . [κ]ρ[ατ]ων	
(103)	115	[αχθυμε]νος	λυπουμε-
		γος	
(103)		[μενεο]ς	οργης

(103)		α[μφι μελ]αναι	βαθειαι
]	
(104)	120	οσσε	οφ' θ' αλμοι
(104)		λα[[.]πετ[ο]ωντι	λαμι[[β]]οντι
(104)		εεικτην	ωμοιωτηρ
(105)		πρωτιστα	πρωτα
(105)		κακ οσσομενος	κακως υποβλε-
	125	ψας	
(105)		προσειπειν	προσειπεν
(106)		κρηγυον	αληθες
(107)		φιλα	[πρ]οσφιλη
(108)		εσθ[λο]ν	αγαθον
(108)	130	επρς	λογον
(109)		θεοπ[ροπε]ων	μαμ[τευο-]
		μενος	
(109)		αγορ[ευε]ις	λε[γεις]
(110)		τουδ[ε]	τουτ[ου]
(111)	135	[ο]υν[εκα]	δε[ιστι]
(110)		εκηβ[ο]λος	[μακρο-]
		βολος	
(110)		αλγεα	κα[κ]α
(111)		κουρη[ς]	κορης
(112)	140	εθελο[ν]	ηθελον
(112)		δεξασθαι	λ[α]βειν
(112)		β[ο]υλομαι	θελω
(113)		οικο[ι .].ξ	εν οικω
(113)		ρα	δη
(113)	145	προβεβουλα	προκε-
		κρεικα	
(114)		κουριδης	της
		εκ παρθενιας	
		γεγαμημενης	
	150	γυναικος	
(114)		αλοχου	γυναικος

(114)	εθεν	αυτης
(114)	χερειων	[ελαττω]ν
(115)	δεμας	σωμα
122 l. εικτην	135 l. διοτι	145 seq. l. προκεκρικα
	ν	
	155 [] []
	[]	[]
(116)	το γε	τουτο [γε]
(116)	[αμειων]	κρει[σσον]
(117)	σ[ων?]	ολοκλη[ρον]
(117)	160 εμμεναι	ειναι
(118)	[γεραι]	τι[εμην]
(118)	αυτικα	ευθ[εω]
(118)	οφρα	οπ[ω]
(118)	οιος	μονος
(119)	165 Αργ' ε'ιων	Ελληνων
(119)	αγεραστος	ατειμος
(119)	εω	ω και γπαρχω
(119)	εοικε	πρεπει
(120)	λευσεται	βλεπεται
(120)	170 ερχεται	απερχεται
(120)	αλλη	εις αλλον το-
	πον	
(121)	τον	τουτον
(121)	ημειβετο	ανταπεκρειν[ατο]
(121)	175 ποδαρκης	ο ταχυσ κα-
	τα τους ποδας	
(122)	κυ[δισ]τ[ε]	εν[τ]οξοτατε
(122)	φιλοκτεφανωτατε	φιλο-
	χρη[μ]α[τω]τατε	
(123)	180 ταρ	δη
(123)	μεγαθυμοι	μεγ' α'λο-
	ψυχοι	

(124)	ξυγημα	κυνα
(124)	ει[σ]μεν	οιδαμεν
(125)	185 πολων	πολεων
(125)	εξεπραθομεν	ε[ξ]επ' ο'ρ- θησαμεν
(125)	τα	ταιτα
(125)	δεδασται	[μεμερισται]
(126)	190 επεικε	πρ[επει]
(126)	παλιλλογα	πα[λυσυλλεκτα]
(126)	επαγειρι	συν[αθρουζει(ν?)]
(127)	τηνδε	ταυ[την]
(127)	προες	προ[πεμψον]
(128)	195 τριπλη	τρ[ιπλασιονα]
(128)	τετραπλη	τ[ετραπλασιονα]

159 σων οτ σων also possible 161 τ[εμην]: cf. 166, below 166 l. ατιμος 169 l. λευσαετε; βλεπετε 174 l. ανταπεκρινατο 183 l. κυνα 184 l. ιδμεν 192 l. επαγειρει

1 Supplied from Pa.
3 Cf. D Pa.
4 So D Pa, Eust. i, p. 41, l. 33.
5 So Pa.
6 seq. Sim. D Pa.
8 Cf. D Ap.
9 So D Pa.
10 seq. So Ap; sim. Pa; cf. D on *Il.* i 43.
12 ει τ[αρ]: probably so understood (rather than ε'ρ' αρ') by the writer here, as in Schol. A. Similarly ου ταρ in 95, below; see also 180. On ταρ see LSJ, s.v., with references there. D Pa ειτε δη.
13 ο'τος (alone) D Pa.
14 So D Pa.
15 seq. So Pa; cf. 22 seq., below.
17 So D Pa.
18 Cf. Ap.
18 seqq. Here, as perhaps in P. Ryl. 536, 32-34, on which see the editor's note, p. 178, a line interpolated which must have been similar to αρων πρωτογονων βεξεν κλειτην εκατομβην, which is found in *Il.* iv 102; *ibid.* 120; xxiii 864; *ibid.* 873.
20 Cf. D (on *Il.* iv 102): βεξεν ιερουργησειν, θύσειν; cf. Ap.
21 So Ap.
24 Supplied from D Pa Ap; cf. Eust. i, p. 43, l. 38.
25 Supply απειρξαι (D) or αποσοβησαι (Pa).
26 seqq. It is hard to see what can have been the content of the fifteen or so lines at the bottom of the column.
27 εν τούτοις Pa.
28 seq. So D Pa.
30 seq. D εξόχως άριστος; Pa δ έξοχάτατος.
34 seq. D Pa τὰ προγεγονότα; cf. Eust. i, p. 44, l. 42.
36 seq. ήγεμών έγ. D.

- 38 εἰς τὴν 'I. D Pa.
 39 So Pa.
 40-42 So D Pa.
 44 Pa ἐν αὐτοῖς.
 45 So D Pa Ap.
 46 So Pa.
 50 So D Pa.
 51 So D.
 52 D πόρρωθεν βάλλοντος, εὐστόχου τοξότου.
 53 D Pa, Eust. i, p. 45, l. 40 evidently differ in not taking this as the pronoun; as Schol. B expressly says it is not.
 54 So D Pa Ap.
 56; 59 So D Pa.
 60 So D Pa; sim. Ap.
 61; 63 So D Pa.
 64 So D Pa Ap.
 65; 67 So D Pa.
 68 Sim. D Pa.
 69 So D Pa.
 70 So D.
 71 So D Pa Ap.
 74 So D Pa.
 75 seq. So Pa.
 77 seq. So D.
 79 seq. So Pa, Schol. B; so, but with θεῶν, D; sim. Ap, Eust. i, p. 48, l. 43.
 81 On the incorrect form οἰσθας, see Schol. A. οἰσας: so Pa.
 82 seq. D τὸν τῷ Διὶ προσφιλέστατον; Pa τὸν τοῦ Διὸς προσφιλή. The vocative suggests that there has been confusion with *Il.* i 74; on which Pa has ὦ τῷ Διὶ προσφιλέστατε, as here.
 86 So D Pa.
 87 So Pa; cf. D Ap.
 88 seq. Pa βλεπομένου; with the alternative here, cf. D: ὀρώντος ἢ ὀρωμένου.
 91 seq. D ἐπιβαλεῖ, ἐπενέγξοι; Pa ἐπιβαλεῖ.
 93 So D Pa.
 94 D ἀμωμος, ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄψογος; Pa ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄψογος; Ap ἀμώμητος.
 95 See n. on 12, above. Schol. B, T understood as οὐ ταρ. D Pa οὐτε δῆ.
 96 seq. So D Pa.
 97 So Schol. T.
 98 So D Pa.
 99 seq. So Pa.
 101 Cf. D.
 102 Cf. D Pa.
 103 So D Pa; cf. Ap.
 104 seq. So Pa.
 106 For ἱερός = μέγας, cf. Schol. A on *Il.* xvi 407 (ἱερὸν ἰχθύν), and authorities (Hesychius, *Et. Magn.*, and others) cited in Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*, s.v. ἱερός.
 107 D ἐξιλωσάμενοι, ἐξευμενίσαντες; Pa ἐξευμενισάμενοι; it seems impossible to read any of these here.
 109 πεισοιμεν supplied from D Pa.
 110 Indeterminate traces.
 112 Cf. 27.
 113 seq. D Pa μεγάλως κρατῶν καὶ βασιλεύων.
 115 seq. So D Pa.
 117 seq. On φέρνεις ἀμφ. D has αἶ ἐν βᾶθει κείμεναι καὶ συνεταὶ διάνοιαι αὐτοῦ· ἢ τεταραγμένα διὰ τὴν ὀργήν. Cf. Schol. A.

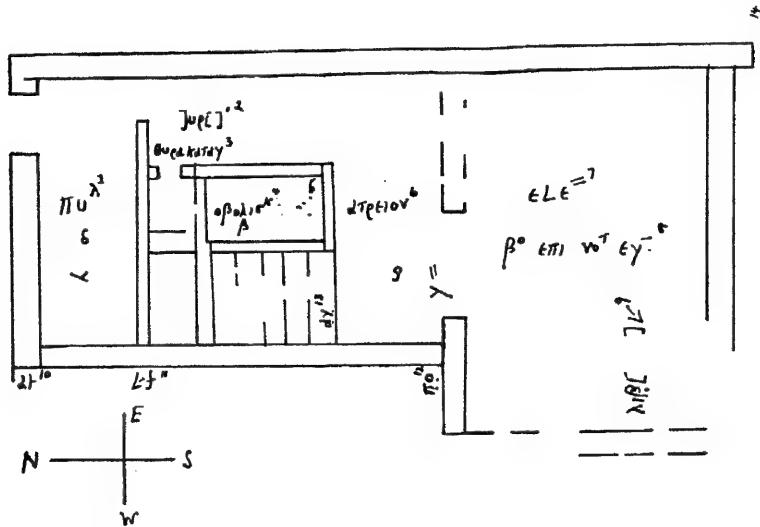
- 120 So D Pa Ap.
 121 So D Pa; cf. Schol. B, Eust. i, p. 50, l. 34.
 122 So D; sim. Pa.
 124 seq. Pa Ap: κακῶς ὑποβλεψάμενος; see also Schol. B, L, T.
 126 seq. So D Pa.
 128 So D.
 129-131 So D Pa.
 133 So D.
 134 So D Pa.
 135 Restored from D Pa, but doubtful.
 136 For supplement, cf. Pa on *Il.* i 75 (ἐκατηβελέταο ἀνακτος): τοῦ μακροβόλου βασιλέως.
 138 So Pa; cf. Ap.
 143 So Ap; cf. D Pa.
 144 So Pa.
 145 seq. So D; cf. Eust. i, p. 52, l. 46.
 147 seq. Cf. Pa: τῆς ἐκ παρθενίας συναφθείσης μοι; D παρθευκῆς.
 151 So D.
 152 Cf. D Ap, Eust. i, p. 53, l. 11 f.
 153 For supplement cf. D, and 70, above.
 154 Supplied from D Pa.
 157 D Pa τοῦτο alone; but cf. 13.
 158 So Pa.
 159 So Ap. δλόκληρος in this sense is familiar from private letters and the New Testament.
 160 So D.
 161 So Pa.
 162 So D Pa Ap.
 163 So D Pa Ap; and cf. 71, above.
 164 So D Pa Ap.
 165 D Pa τῶν 'E.; cf. 65, above.
 166 So Pa.
 167 Ap ὦ, ὑπάρχω; D Pa ὑπάρχω alone.
 168 So D.
 169 Cf. D, Eust. i, p. 55, l. 13.
 170 So D.
 173 So Pa Ap.
 174 For ἀνταποκρίνεσθαι with the meaning 'answer', see Bauer, *Wb. z. N. T.*, s.v. It is not found in the documents. Pa ἀπεκρίνατο; D ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς ἀπεκρ.
 175 Cf. D.
 177 So D Pa.
 178 seq. So D Pa Ap.
 180 The correspondence with the MS. A is interesting; see LSJ s.v. ταρ; Cobet, *Misc. Crit.*, p. 315. D Pa read γάρ.
 181 seq. So D Pa.
 183 D Pa: κοινὰ χρήματα; cf. Schol. L T; Eust. i, p. 55, l. 45.
 185-187 So D Pa.
 188 So Pa Ap.
 189 Supplied from D Pa.
 190 So Pa.
 191 So D Pa.
 192 D Pa ἐπισυναβροῦζεν.
 193 So Pa.
 194-196 So D Pa.

DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND
BYZANTINE PERIODS

2406. GROUND-PLAN OF A HOUSE

22.5 × 13 cm.

Second century. Plate



A ground-plan of a house is a novelty among Greek papyri. On the plan drawn on this papyrus, which to judge from the writing it bears should be assigned to the second century, walls are shown by two lines drawn in ink with the help of a rule, the intervening space being filled with a yellow colour wash, while open spaces are left for doors; designations are added and figures give measurements. The thickness assigned to the walls is graded according to their relative structural importance. It is of interest to contrast this ground-plan with the plans of Egyptian temples, tombs, and shrines of the Pharaonic period, in which, though the rooms are shown in section, doorways are drawn as if in perspective standing on their own baseline.

The detached house here shown is rectangular in shape, and has a rectangular extension in width at the end farthest from the door, which gives the building the

shape of the Greek letter Γ (cf. the [οἰκία] γαμμοειδής of BGU 1037, 8). The single entrance door, probably at the north end, gives access to what are probably three successive courtyards rather than rooms, the first of them being described as πυλ(ών), the second as ἀθρίον, the third being unnamed. In the second courtyard, immediately to the right of its entrance door, a further door named θύρα κατα(αίου) leads down to the cellar; in the centre a rectangle completely enclosed by a double line is marked δβολίσκ(ος) and may perhaps represent the characteristic central water-tank or impluvium of an atrium-type house. From the lower side of this rectangle to the lower wall of the building six lines are drawn, one effect of which is to create an enclosed oblong chamber in the lower left-hand corner; the purpose of these lines is not clear, but it seems unlikely that they represent a staircase to an upper story. There is no description of the third court, where the lettering is concerned solely with measurements.

When this plan is compared with the ground-plans of houses revealed by excavation and with the terms for parts of houses occurring in the documents, its most surprising feature is seen to be its atrium. This term has not yet occurred in the papyri except in connexion with religious or public buildings. The central court of houses in the documents is styled ἀίθριον which is not a translation of atrium but means a courtyard open to the sky; and such courtyards have been found not infrequently by excavators. In the atrium-type house, however, characteristic of Italy, the courtyard was roofed, and the central opening in the rafters was originally an outlet for smoke. It is to be noted that excavations have of necessity been confined to villages, and that Oxyrhynchus was a metropolis. Supposing the building shown in this plan stood in Oxyrhynchus, it might have been the house of a Roman citizen or a Romanized veteran; less probably, for there is nothing else to connect it with public uses, it might even have been a public edifice. The designation πυλ(ών) in any case makes it likely that the building is to be located somewhere in Egypt.

The arrangement of the writing in the right-hand courtyard suggests that north was on the left-hand side, south on the right, west at the foot, and east at the top of the sheet. In the diagram in P. Lille 1 north is marked at the right, east at the foot, etc. The measurements set out in this right-hand courtyard suggest that the single letters found elsewhere are also figures. If they are measurements, however, it is not easy to reconcile them with each other or to interpret them in absolute terms as dimensions of the building. $\delta = 4$ under πυλ(ών) applied to the distance between its parallel walls (the vertical lines on the plan), $\beta = 2$ under δβολίσκ(ος) applied to the distance between the two horizontal limits, and $\delta = 4$, upside down under ἀθρίον applied to the distance from the δβολίσκ(ος) wall to the exit door could be taken to be the same unit; but it is not a unit that will fit the figure $\epsilon\gamma' = 5\frac{1}{2}$ of the horizontal measurements of the third courtyard, or the two γ 's = 3 (one in the πυλ(ών), one by the exit door from the atrium). In absolute terms, 4 or 5 cubits (presumably ἐμβαδικοί or

οικοπεδικοί πηχεῖς, cf. Luckhard, pp. 16–19) seem absurdly small figures, both in themselves and compared with measurements in the papyri (e.g. P. Lond. 50, 7, vol. i, p. 49, in which a house measures 21×13 cubits, its *αὐλή* 4×13 cubits). The first of these difficulties might be met by supposing that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, especially the graded thickness of the walls, the plan is not to scale, but such an explanation will not meet the second difficulty. A possible solution is that the plan was intended to illustrate a division of house property, that the single figures stand for fractions ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$), and the measurements are of portions allocated to an interested party. Among the *διαρέσεις* of house-property (a recent list has been compiled by A. Calderini, *Studi in onore V. Arangio-Ruiz* iii 273 seqq.) houses are frequently mentioned as divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, etc. (e.g. P. Lond. 978 iii 232 seqq.). Sometimes the division is achieved by assigning different rooms to the parties, sometimes by measurement straight through the house (e.g. 503). If this explanation is correct, the plan was not an architect's drawing for the use of building workmen, but was intended to accompany other legal documents, even though none is known to be connected with it. The inadequacy of the plan as an architectural working drawing (e.g. the absence of room-divisions in the atrium, or an internal subdivision in the third courtyard) is also in favour of this view.

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1 $\pi\omega\lambda(\acute{\omega})$ 8, below, in a vertical direction, γ . $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ is normally interpreted as a monumental tower-gateway. Schütz, p. 20, quoting the layout of Ptolemy's great ship in Athenaeus 204 d–206 c, in which a *προστάς* is reached through a $\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$ with four doors, notes that a pylon is not merely a doorway, but may have an extension in depth of 3–4 cubits. The papyrus seems to designate the courtyard, not a tower, as $\pi\omega\lambda(\acute{\omega})$. The interpretation by which the term is extended to cover the courtyard into which the tower-entrance leads would give a better sense than the normal one to some of the passages collected by Luckhard, p. 54, Schütz, p. 20 (e.g. 495, 8 a store-room *ἐπάνω τοῦ πωλῶνος*) and would suit all of them.

2 Reading uncertain. All that can be made out is ν followed by a tall vertical, and after a space of two letters, a spot of ink high up, perhaps part of a contraction. $[\theta] \nu \rho [\alpha \delta] \rho (\rho \epsilon \iota \omega)$ might be possible.

θύρα αὐλή(ε)ας (cf. BGU 1007, 16) or *πα(ρό)διος* (cf. P. Teb. 45, 22) are less likely, on both palaeographical and factual grounds.

3 *θύρα καταγ(α)λου*, door to the cellar. Cf. Luckhard, p. 67. The treads of the staircase are not shown. It may have been a straight stair occupying the whole opening, but is more likely to have turned round a central pillar.

4 $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa(\)\beta$, probably $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa(\omicron\varsigma)$ and a measurement rather than $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa(\omicron\iota)\beta$. As an important feature of a house which can serve as a delimiting point, the term occurs in two papyrus contracts for division of house property, but both are too damaged to throw a clear light on its meaning: PSI 698 (also from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 392), 16] *ἀπό τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ δβωλίσκου*. [; P. Lond. 391 (ii, p. 329, 6th cent.), 1 τοῦτ' ἐστὴν (l. ἐστὶν) τὸ μέρος τοῦ προειρημένου Νααράου [ε]ξ ὀλοκληρῶν] καὶ μόνον ἐντὶ μὴν [sic] περὶ τοῦ πωλῶνος (l. πύλ.) καὶ τοῦ βωλίσκου μετὰ [παντὸς αὐτῶν] τοῦ δικαίου. In LSJ the sense 'water-pipes', 'conduit' (a sense which the word bears in Diod. xix 45 *ὅτι τοῖς τεύχεσιν ὀβελίσκοι*) and in an inscription from Corcyra, *IG* ix' 692, 14) is hesitantly suggested. Open tile conduits were found at Karanis in houses of the second and third centuries A.D. which were perhaps connected with the temple of Pnepheros and Petesouchos; in more than one of them the conduits were arranged in rectangular form and backed by a low wall, less than a metre in height, while the space (also about a metre) between this wall and the side wall of the chamber had been filled with earth to form a mastaba or bench (*Karanis 2*, pp. 35 seqq.). It would be hazardous to suggest such an interpretation of the rectangular space in this plan, which is in the centre of the courtyard. Since it is completely sealed and without doorway it can hardly be a separate chamber. Possibly the sense 'water-tank' might be a semantic extension from the idea of 'conduit'; it is certainly situated just where the impluvium is to be expected. It is to be noted that in the papyri most houses of any size are equipped with their own *φρέαρ* (e.g. 502, 18), though it is usually situated in the *αὐλή*.

5 λ . and perhaps a figure below.

6 *ἀτρεῖον*, below and upside down $\delta = 4$, below and in a vertical direction $\gamma = 3$. In the papyrus use of the term *ἀτρεῖον* is confined to the Atrium Magnum of Alexandria (see Calderini, *Dis. Topograf.* s.v. *Ἀλεξάνδρεια*, p. 95, and add the following references which are not from birth certificates, e.g. P. Fouad 21, 4 *ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ δ. ἐπὶ βήματος*, P. Yale Inv. 1528 (*JRS* xxviii (1938), pp. 41 seqq.), 15) and to that representation of Isis known as the *Ἴσις ἐν ἀτρείῳ*, *JGR* i 1048, 1175.

7 $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon'$, i.e. ϵ (*ἡμισυ*) (*πέμπτον*) = $\frac{5}{10}$.

8 $\beta\omicron(\rho\rho\beta)$ ἐπὶ νό(του) $\epsilon\gamma'$ = north to south 5½.

9 (at right angles to previous entry) $\lambda\iota\beta\{\delta\varsigma\}$ ἐπ' ἀπ(ηλιώτην) .]L." west to east [.] $\frac{1}{2}$.

10 $a\uparrow$ = $1\uparrow$ (a fraction) (?).

11 L—f = a fraction between $\frac{1}{2}$ and one.

12 $\pi\rho$, sense unknown.

13 $\alpha\gamma$ = $1\frac{1}{2}$ (?) or an abbreviation.

14 Traces of letters.

2407. MEMORANDA OF PROCEEDINGS OF A PUBLIC MEETING

37 × 25 cm.

Late third century.

Although its state of preservation is poor, we have on both recto and verso of this papyrus, which is of fair quality, almost the whole width of a broad column of thirty lines, written in a clear sloping hand which Mr. C. H. Roberts and Mr. T. C. Skeat (who has suggested several valuable readings and interpretations) would assign to c. A.D. 270 or later; the use of *διασημότατος* as the title of the Prefect is another indication of its date, see Roberts in *The Merton Papyri* i 160; see also note on l. 57, below. The scribe is sometimes inaccurate, and inconsistent in his use of abbreviations. Line 1 of the recto, which is written along the fibres, begins in mid-sentence, and so

one preceding column at least must have been lost; line 1 of the verso continues from l. 30 of the recto; the fragmentary last line of the verso is short and so presumably ends the document. The text consists of the *ὑπομνήματα* of a meeting of a public body, and records the utterances of a *σύνδικος* named Menelaus and his interlocutors, mostly designated as past holders of the office of hypomnematographus or of unspecified *ἀρχαί*, and of an assembly (*σύλλογος*) and of the 'members of the first and second tribes'. The date is evidently the last day of the official year, when the period of service of the first tribe comes to an end (17; 25); this is also the last day of the syndic's office (30; cf. 48). The matters with which our text is concerned are thus relevant to those dealt with by Miss E. P. Wegener in her three articles: 'Notes on the *φυλαί* of the Metropoleis', in *Actes du V^e Congrès de Papyrologie*, 1937, pp. 512 seqq. (cited here as *Actes*); 'The *βουλευταί* of the *μητροπόλεις*', *Symbolae Van Oven*, Leiden 1946, pp. 160 seqq. (cited as *Symb.*); 'The *βουλή* and the nomination to the *ἀρχαί* in the *μητροπόλεις* of Roman Egypt', *Mnemosyne*, S. iv, vol. i (1948), pp. 15 seqq., 115 seqq., 297 seqq. (cited as *Mnem.*); see also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 329 seqq., 478. This text, besides adding to our knowledge, presents some problems. Why, if the body in question here is the *βουλή*, are the terms *βουλή*, *βουλευταί*, so freely used in other texts which concern the senate of Oxyrhynchus, the presumable origin of this papyrus¹ (see Part XII, pp. 26 seqq.), not found here, and *σύλλογος*² used instead? It might be suggested that the present meeting is attended by only a part of the *βουλή*—after a financial statement by the syndic the affairs of two tribes only are discussed. This seems ruled out by the fact that it discusses matters too important to have been dealt with by anything but a plenary meeting. The explanation is perhaps rather that the present body is not too small, but too large to be called the *βουλή*; compare 41, where the *δήμος*, not the *βουλή*, is in evidence. At this meeting perhaps both are present.

The *ἄρχοντες*, whose recruitment and allotment to tribes is the occasion of so much discussion, are presumably the municipal magistrates whose work had by now declined from an honour into a ruinous burden to be avoided by any means; the term being taken in its normal sense and not as a synonym for *βουλευταί*, as it probably should be in examples cited by Wegener, *Symb.* 165; in that article it is shown that the majority of *βουλευταί* were past or present *ἄρχοντες*, but the appointment of non-*βουλευταί* to the *ἀρχαί* had long since been general. But when a demand is made that certain persons elected to *ἀρχαί* should attend meetings (*συνεδρεύειν*) or be penalized, what are the meetings in question? Are they of the *βουλή*? If so, this would mean that it is demanded that newly recruited *ἄρχοντες* should automatically become members of the *βουλή*. But it is hard to be certain; the words *βουλή*, *βουλευταί*, *βουλευεῖν* are not used, and

¹ As Skeat points out, we cannot rule out the possibility that this text originated, not in Oxyrhynchus, but (conceivably) in Ptolemais.

² Only two examples of this term are given in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*; one is a fragmentary and uninformative inscription; the other, BGU 1073 (third century), refers to something plainly unrelated (see Viereck, *Klio* viii 413 seqq.); so does a third, PSI 1265 (fifth century).

συνεδρεύειν, though it can refer to meetings of the senate (cf. 1417, 2; P. Warsaw 15) might also refer to meetings of other bodies. This text seems not to be informative about the number of the city *φυλαί* (for which see Jouguet, *La Vie Municipale*, pp. 282 seqq. 309, 410, 454; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 173; Wilcken, *Grdz.*, pp. 348 seq.; Wegener, *Actes*, pp. 514 seqq.); only two are mentioned here. The purely local basis for their membership which some have postulated cannot have applied to these *ἄρχοντες*, for whom the representatives of the tribes can haggle with obvious disregard for their places of origin or residence.

The syndic (for whom see Rees, *JJP* vi, pp. 77 seqq.; Wegener, *Mnem.*, pp. 23 seq.) appears as a most important person in this text. His close connexion with the prefect and his immediate responsibility to the latter, between whom and the assembly he acts as a medium, are repeatedly stressed. He has evidently much influence in fiscal matters (cf. Rees, art. cit., p. 78) and over the appointment of the *ἄρχοντες*. No mention is made of a colleague or colleagues of the syndic (see, however, P. Meyer, *Gr. Texte aus Äg.*, No. 67), or of a successor to him. The prytanis, who in 1413 appears together with him, is not mentioned here at all.

Recto

(δρ.) ἀπ—Ἐπιείθ β (δρ.) ἀ[. —Ἐ]πιείθ πγ (δρ.) ἀφζ—Μεσορῆ [.. (δρ.) .]σμ—
 Μ[εσ]ορῆ ε (δρ.) ἀ... καὶ εἰσθ[έδωκα] τ[ἀ] μετ[α]. [.....] ἀπὸ τῶν [κ]ελεμ-
 [σθέντων]
 ὑπὸ [τ]ρ[ῦ] δ[ι]α[σ]ημοτάτου ἡ[γε]μόνος δο[θῆνα] ἀπὸ [.]...ογο[.] μετὰ τὰ ἐξοδια-
 [σθέντα τάλ(αντα) δ ἀπ[.....]. [.]β. φως τὰ λοιπὰ τάλαν[τα]
 [.....]ητ[.]υ[.] τάλ(αντ) λθ (δρ.) ἐτ, ὡς λοιπὸν τάλ(αντον) α (δρ.) ἀτμ. — ὁ
 σύλλογος ἐφώνησ[ε]ν· εὐγενῆ σύν[δ]ικε, καλῶς ἐδιώκησας· τῷ ἀγνώ καὶ πιστῷ
 καὶ φιλο-
 πόλι ἐμαρτυρήθη. Μενέλαος[ς] σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· ὁ μὲν λόγος οὗτος παρετέθη ὑμῖν,
 προτεθήσεται δὲ κ[αὶ] δη[μοσ]ία καὶ καταχωρισθήσεται· ἐπι [δὲ ὁ λόγος]
 5 τῶν ὑ τάλ(αντων) καὶ τῶν λ ἀνε[ε]χθήσεται τῷ [κυ]ρίῳ μ[ο]σῷ διασημοτάτ[ου]
 ἡγεμόνι, καὶ δικιμάσει [αὐτοῦ τ]ὸ μεγαλεῖον. ἄλλο· [Μενέλαος]
 σύνδικος εἶπ(εν)· οὐδὲ ἐνὶ ἀγροεῖται, οἷαν φροντίδα ἔχει ἡ συνδικία {συν}, καὶ
 <δ>πως ἀ[ν]πασας τὰς κε[ε]ύσει[ς] [τὰς ἡ]γεμονικάς κ[αὶ] τῶν ἀλλ[ων]
 διετέλεσα δια[ν]ύων, ἐπι μὴν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν δι[ο]ικησι τῆς πόλεως· διαμεμη-
 σθ[α]ί[ε] ἡνίκα [δ]έλλον τ[ὸ] λεύκωμα τῶν ἀρχοντ[ων] εἰς τὰς δύο
 φυλ[ὰς] κ[αὶ] ἀνη[νέχθη] τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασημοτάτῳ ἡ[γε]μόνι, ἐφ' ὅσον ψήφος
 ἐγένετο τῆς νομῆς, ὅτι τοῖσιν εὐχομένων ὑμῶν [ἐπεγένοντο]

ταῖς δυοῖ [φυ]λαῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπαυξηθέντας, δώδεκα [τόν ἀρ]θμόν. ἀναγκαῖον
 ἠγγασάμην, καὶ ἰδὴ καὶ κ[αὶ] τ[ε] διελ[άλ]ησα ἐπ[ὶ τ]ῶν ὑπομνημα[τί]ων, τοῦ
 10 χρόνου [πε]πληρωμένου καταλέξαι τοὺς ἐπιγενο[μ]ένους εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 τὴν ἰσομοιρ[ί]αν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ [τό] δευ[τε]ρον ἐκτε[ί]σαι, ἀλλά
 ἀπὸ μιᾶς . . .]σματος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ προ[γ]γενόμε[ι]νοι· καὶ ἐξ[ῆ]ς λέγοντος, ὁ σύλλογος
 ἐφώνησεν· εὐγενῆ σύνδικε, καλ[ῶ]ς ἐδιώκησα[ς]· ὡκεα[ν]αί φιλο-
 πόλει, ὡκεα[ν]αὶ ἰδιοπ[ο]ιέ, [ἄ]ξιε τοῦ ἠγεμόνος μιᾶ ἀπ' αἰώνο[ς] συνδικία· τοιοῦτος
 δεῖ γίγν[ε]σθαι. Ἄπολλ[ό]δος ἄρ[ξ]ας εἶπ[εν]· ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημά-
 των ἀσφαλίζομαι, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν δώδεκα [Ε]ὐήμερος ἀδελφός δι' ἐπιστάλ-
 ματος τ[ο]ῦ νῦν συνδίκου ἦδ[η] ἐλιτούργη[σε]ν· καὶ [ἀν]τ[ί]γραφον ἀξιοῦμεν
 παραθέσθαι ἡμῖν. Σερήνος γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]· ἐπεὶ οὖν προ-
 κατελέγ[η] οἱ [τ]οῦ εἰ[ς] ταύτην, ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [Π]όσων Εὐαγγέλου
 15 εἰς τῆ[ν] ἀλλο[ν] φυλὴν καταλέξωμεν. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ἐφώνησαν· οὐτ[ὸ]ς
 κόλλασον καὶ ἡμῖν Πόσων Εὐαγγέλου. [Σ]ερήνος γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος
 εἶπ[εν]· ἐπ[ὶ] ποιῶν ὁ σύνδικος καὶ ἠέγερε· [δαπανή-]
 σας τὸν ἀναμ[ε]ντὸν ἠθέλησεν σήμερον διελεῖν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐπαυξη[θ]έντας·
 [ἐπειδὴ] [δὲ] εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην κατελέγησαν, [ἀναγκαῖ-]
 ὄν ἐστιν καὶ τοὺς ἴσους γ' κατατεθῆναι εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φυλὴν. ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνησεν·
 οὕτως οὕτως, εὐγενῆ σύνδικε. Σερήνος γενό-
 μενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἰσιδω[ρο]ς καὶ Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαί-
 20 μων Καλλιμάχου. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· Ἰσι-
 δωρος ἀλλ[ό]τριός ἐστιν· ὁ ἐπιμελητῆς ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἱπ[π]οῖς . . .] ἐστίν. Μελέλαος
 σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· τ[ὸ] ὑποτάγμα ἐποιήσαμεν ὑπ[ὲρ] τοῦ τὴν ἴσο-
 τιμίαν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ἰσομοίραν τὰς δύο φυλάς· καὶ κατὰ τὸ δικαίωτον ἔδε[ξ]ε
 ἀπαξιαπῶς τοὺς ἐπέξε[υ]ρθε[ν]τας κλη[ρ]ῶν λαχ[εῖ]ν,
 καθὰ ἡ σύνθεσις τοῦ πάντος λευκώματος καὶ τ[ῶ]ν δύο φυλῶν ἐγένε[το] ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ πρὸς χάριν μῆτε πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν τοῦ μὲν τα[ύ]τη[ς]
 εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείνης· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἠθέλησατε τοὺς προκαταλημ[φ]θέν[τ]ας ταῖς
 [λ]ειτουργία[ς] εἶ[ν]αι τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς, καὶ οἱ ἴ[σοι] δοθήσονται
 τῆ ἑτέρα φυλῆ· οἱ δὲ λειτουργήσαντες εἰσὶν Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαίμων, [δ] μὲν οὖν
 Ἰσχυρίων καὶ Εὐδαίμων Καλλιμάχου καταλεγῆσονται εἰς τὴν π[ρ]ώτην
 25 τὴν τότε καὶ [ἔ]τι νῦν σήμερον λειτουργοῦσαν· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων [δ]ωσομ[ε]ν καὶ τ[ῆ]
 δευ[τε]ρά τῆ ἀρχο[μ]ένη λειτ[ο]υργ[ε]ῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀ[ρ]χιον Πόσω

Εὐαγγέλου καθ[ὸ]ς ἠθέλησατε καὶ Ἰσιδωρον Ἀμαραντοῦ. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ[τ]ης
 φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· οὕτως οὕτως εὐ[γ]ενῆ [σ]ύνδικε,
 καλ[ῶ]ς ἐδιώκησα[ς]. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας φυλῆς ἐφώνησαν· [. . .]σ . . . π . . . ο . . .
 . . . [. . .] . . . σθω· ἀν[έ]σις ἐποίη[σ]α[ς]. Μελέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]·
 [έ]γὼ μὲν [ο]ῦν τὸ ἴσον ἠθέλησα δοῦναι ταῖς φυλαῖς· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ . . .]ρ[ε]φ[η] . . .]
 εχ[ε] . . .] . . .] μόντος κ[α]ὶ ὁ ἄλλος πρ[ο] . . .] . . .] δ[ι]οθήσει[αι]
 [τ]ῆ πρώτῃ. Πρακτομήνιος Νεμεσιανὸς γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]·
 30 ὡν[ο]μάθησαν, καὶ οὐκ ὅτε σὺ πέπασσο τῆς λειτουργίας, τοῦτο ἔδει γενέσθαι.
 Μελέλαος [σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· Πόσων Εὐαγγέλου] δοθήσεται τῆ μι[κ]ρῇ φυλῆ τῆ]

1 μετρ[ο]ν· doubtful letter τ or π; horizontal stroke above 2 Before ογο[ν], perhaps λ
 6 οιδε; 1. οὐδέ 9 1. ἐπαυξηθέντες 12 ἴδιοπ[ο]ιέ 14 Before ἡμῖν, what looks like an in-
 completely made χ, left uncanceled 15 seq. κο-λλαστον: see commentary 16 ὁ σύνδικος: ο
 very large, as if beginning a line 20 (end) ὑπ[ὲρ] 22 1. σύνθεσις 23 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ; καὶ οἱ
 ἴσοι 24 [ο] μετ[ρ]ων Ἰσχυρίων 26 Ἰσιδωρον 28 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ 30 οὐκ ὅτε: 1. οὐχ ὅτε.

Verso

[λειτουργ]οῦσθαι καὶ Εὐδαίμων δοθήσεται; τῆ ἑτέρα] μ[ε] Νεμεσια[ν]ος ἄλλο-
 λωνος' [γ]ενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]· φθάσας ἡσφαλισάμε[ν] ὅτι
 τοῦ[τ]ο οὐκ ἐχρήρη σή-
 [μερον γε]μέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἠνίκα οὔτοι ἀνομάσθησ[α]ν ἐχ[ρ]ήρη· αὐτῶν τὸν κληρὸν
 [γ]ενέσθαι· Μελέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· ἐγὼ [μ]ὲν οὖν μ . . .] . . .] . . .] . . .]
 . . .] . . .]
 [ἐπὶ τῶν γε]νομένων ὑπομνημάτων ἠνίκα [τ]ὸ λευκ[ω]μα διῆλον εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς
 προενεγκάμε[νο]ς ὅτι ὅσοι ἐφευρ[ε]σκοντα μετὰ [τόν] κλη[ρ]ον τῶν ἀλλω[ν]
 [. . .] . . .]
 [.] διαιρεθῆσονται εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς [ὑ]π[ὲρ] τοῦ τὸ ἰσότημον εἶ[ν]αι, καὶ κατὰ
 τοῦτο μεμν[η]μένους ὡν τότε διελάθησ[α]ν τ[ο]ὺς ἐπέξε[υ]ρθέντας
 35 [διῆλον εἰς] τὰς δύο φυλάς. Νεμεσιανὸς ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]· φθάσας
 ἡσφαλισάμε[ν]. Μελέλαος σύνδικος εἶπ[εν]· τῶν οὖν ἀλλω[ν] ἐξ[ε] [χ]α. ε. . .]
 σετ. κλη
 [Νεμεσιαν]ος γενόμενος ὑπομνηματογράφος εἶπ[εν]· τὰ [τέ]κνα τῶν πατέρων τὰ
 φθάσαντα ἦδη εἰς τὴν φυλὴν λειτουργ[ε]ίται, τῶν ἑστῶν τῶν γονεῶν καὶ
 ἀναγ-
 [καίων] ἐχρήρη ἦδη τοῦ[τ]ο φθάσαντας συνεδρεύει. ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνησεν· οὕτως
 οὕτως, πάντες συνεδρευέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λ, συνεδρ[ε]ύ[ε]ταισαν

- [ἀπό λ τοῦ Φαά]φι μνηός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτιθέστωσαν. Μενέλαος σὺνδίκος εἶπ(ε)·
 ποίως οἷν βούλει[σ]θαι συνεδρεύειν; ὁ σύλλ[ο]γός ἐφώνησεν· τοὺς μαλλοκρορη-
 [τας(?)] καὶ τ[ο]ὺς ἦδη φ[θ]άσαντας. Φιλόξενος ἀ[ρ]ξας εἶπ(εν)· ἀ[μ]αγκαῖον [ο]ἷν
 ἐστὶν ὑποβαλεῖν τοὺς εἰ[...].]τα[ς] αὐτούς. Μενέλαος σὺνδίκος εἶπ(εν)·
 40 [.....]χερι εἰ εν.ω. *Ἡ[ρω]ν Εὐημέρον εἶπ(ε)· κατὰ τί γὰρ ὄλοι ο[ὗ] συνή-
 δρευσαν, ἢ τίνος κελεύσα[ντο]ς μεχρὶ σήμερο[ν] οὐ συνήδρευ[ε]σαν; καὶ τ[ο]ῦτο
 οὐκ ἔστει
 [οὐδενὶ συ]νχωρη[σ]αί· ο. ἀλ[λ] ἦδη ἐχρηῖν <αὐ>τοὺς σ[υ]νδρεύειν, καὶ εἰ μὴ συνή-
 δρευσαν, ἐκτεθῆναι. Μενέλα[ο]ς σὺνδίκος εἶπ(εν)· ἀπαξᾶπλως [οἱ ἐκ] τοῦ
 λευ-
 [κάματος ἀ]νενεχθ[έ]ντες τῷ κυρίῳ μ[ο]σῦ ἢ[γ]εμόνι ὄλοι συνήδρευον, καὶ οἱ μὴ
 συνεδρεύσαντες ἐξετέθησαν. Πακτουμήνιος Νεμεσ[ια]νός [γ]ενόμενος
 [ὑπομηματο]γράφος εἶπ(εν)· οὐκ ἐχρηῖν σήμερον τοῦτο [γ]ενέσθαι. Μενέλαος
 σὺνδίκος εἶπ(ε)· μὴ παράτ[ι]ης τὸν σύλλογον. Νεμεσιανός εἶπ(ε)· μὴ σκα[υ]-
 δαλί[ζ]ης τὸν σύλλο-
 [γον]. *Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(ε)· πάντες συνεδρευέτωσαν. [Πακτο]υμήνιος Νεμε-
 σιανός γενόμενος ὑπομηματογράφος εἶπ(ε)· διὰ τί γὰρ ἔκτοτε [τοῦ]το [οὐ]κ
 ἐγένε[τ]ο
 45 [μεχρὶ το]ῦ δέυρο; βουλόμενος τούτους σκεπ[τ]α[ί]ζων σήμερο[ν] μετὰ τὴν συνδικίαν
 τοῦτο ἐποίησας. Μ[ενέ]λα[ο]ς σὺνδίκος εἶπ(εν)· ἀπ[α]ξ[α]π[λ]ῶς οἱ ἐρε-
 [θέντες] καὶ καταλενένας εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς [σ]υ[ν]ήδρευσαν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐλεποτά-
 κτησαν, οὗτοι ἐξετέθησαν· καὶ σὺ ἐὰν πιστευθῆς, ὅσοι[ς] ἐὰν δ[ι]ν[η]θῆς
 [ἐπε]ξ[ε]υρεῖν τῇ σεαυτοῦ πίστει, κατὰλεξον. Πακτο[υ]μήνιος Ν[ε]μεσιανός γενό-
 (μενος) ὑπομηματογράφος (εἶπεν)· εἰ[ὰ]ν πιστευθῶ, οὐ παρὰ σοῦ αὐτὸ ἔχω.
 Μ[ενέ]λα[ο]ς σὺνδικ(ος) εἶπ(εν)·
 [ὡ]ς οὐδὲ ἐ[γ]ὼ παρὰ σοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἀξιολογώτα[το]ς σύλλ[ο]γος οἶδε[ν] ὅ[τι] [π]ω[ς]
 ἐδικώκησα τὴν συνδικίαν. *Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(εν)· ἡσφαλ[ισάμην] ὅτι
 [..]ω τῷ [σ]υλλόγω ἐν ᾧ ἐξετέθη [ο]ὐδὲν [εἰ]σ[ή]χθη. Μενέλαος [σύνδικ]ος εἶπ(ε)·
 μ[ὴ] συγχύσ[η]ς τὸν σύλλογον προφάσει εἴκοσι ...σων
 50 [..]ων· [εἰ]σ[έ]νεγκον τὸ πρόσμιον. *Ἡρων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(ε)· σὺ εἰ ὁ π[άν]τα
 συγχέω[ν]. [Με]ν[ε]λ[α]ος σὺνδίκος εἶπ(εν)· ἦδη ἀρχὴ συσκευῆς καὶ συγχύσεως
 εἰ[κ]... ἡ ἐπισ...ιν πεπαύμεθα ἦδη καὶ ...[..]εις· τ[ὸ] πρόσμιον [εἰ]σ[έ]νεγκον.
 [*Ἡρ]ων Εὐημέρου εἶπ(εν)· οὐδὲν ὀφείλω. Μενέλαος σὺνδίκος εἶπ(εν)·
 εἰγὼ σὲ ἀπ[α]ιτῶ· ὁ ἡγεμὼν σὲ ἀπ[α]ιτεῖ· μὴ [με] κολ[α]κεύη[ς]. Π[ακ]το[υ]μήνιος

- Νεμεσιανός γενόμενος ὑπομηματογράφος (εἶπεν)· ἐκάστου ἡσφαλ[ι]σπτό
 ἰδίῳ κινδύνῳ.
 [Μενέλαος] σὺνδίκος εἶπ(ε)· γένοιτο. τὴν τύχη[ν] τοῦ συλλόγου ἐπαυξήσει τὸ
 ἐ]πεξευρεῖν πλείονας ἄρχοντας· τοῦτό μοι [εἰ]πανως καὶ κλέος ἐστ[ι]ν,
 [πλε]ο[ν] [ἐξ]ε]υρε[ί]ν καὶ μὴ ἐλαττονῖν τ[...].]ν.ω[...].ε[...].]ρ ἡμῖν
 διελεῖν αὐτούς εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς· εἰ [δὲ] καὶ ἕτεροι ὑποβ[α]λλουσιν],
 55 [.....]ονται· ὅσους μέντοιγε ἐγὼ [ὑπέβαλον], το[σ]οῦ[τοι]...[...].]ω τῶν
 ἄλλων ἐξ(ε)· ρ οἱ γὰρ ἐξ(?) διεηρέ[θ]ήσ[α]ν εἰς τὰς δύο φυλάς]
 μη[...].]...[α]τ[...].]...[...].]δωρο[ν], *Ἡρ[α]κλειδ[η]ς [...].],
 *Ἡρακλειδης Ἀνελαίου, Πόσις Διδύμου· [οἱ] μὲν [εἰ]πεξευρε[ί]θεντες
 ...[...].]· ὑποβλη[θ]ήσεται] ..το[...].]ων κο[...].]νω[...].]όμενος
 τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγορανόμος ἔτος [..]ν[τ]ε[...].]
 [..].]...[...].]...[...].]ε[...].] ὁ σύλλογος ἐφώνη[σεν]· τῷ ἡγεμόνι
 περὶ τούτου. Πακτουμήνιος Νεμε[σ]ια[ν]ός γενόμενος]
 [ὑπομημα]τογράφος εἶπ(ε)· [(c. 45 ll.)]σοστομιτων τ[ο]ῦ παρὰ γεου-
 χ[ω]ν[τ]ω[ν] μ[...]
 60 [.....].] [(blank)
 32 ἀλλ' ἦκα 34 ἴσθημιον 35 ὃν εἶ, here and twice in 55, see commentary. After
 this, χαλεπὸν σε possible 36 τρητ' εστιν 38 l. ἐκτιθέσθωσαν; βούλεσθε; μελλοκ. 41 The
 letter between ο and αλ[] might be a badly made υ. The α of αλ[] is very large 44 εκ' τοτε
 45 seq. l. αἰρέθέντες 46 l. καταλεγέντες 47 (εἶπεν) represented by a long horizontal stroke,
 crossed by a short vertical one; so 52, below 49 (near beginning); λλ very large and crossed
 apparently by a broken horizontal stroke. There has perhaps been some alteration here; (end
 of ρ between them 51 The letter after επισο seems to be ε or κ ...[...].]εισ; the letter before ε
 could be ζ 52 ἰδιω 54 l. ἐλαττονεῖν(?) 57 τῶν κο[...].]νω[...].]όμενος possible. At end,
 perhaps οἷντε ἐχ[ω]ς; then, after lacuna, trace of ω or κ 58 τῶν εἰ[...].]νω[...].]όμενος possible
 '... 1,080 dr.; Epeiph 2nd, 1... dr.; Epeiph 13th, 1,207 dr.; Mesorē ... 240 dr.; Mesorē 5th, 1...
 dr. And I have included in my total(?) the ... from what was ordered by the most eminent Prefect
 to be given from ... the four talents which were paid ... the remaining ... talents ... 39 tal. 5,300
 dr.; remainder, 1 tal. 1,340 dr.' The assembly cried: 'Noble syndic! You have administered well;
 witness has been made to one who is true and upright and a patriot.' Menelaus, syndic: 'This account
 has been laid before you, and it shall also be publicly displayed, and entered in the records; further-
 more, the account(?) of the 50 talents and of the 30 shall be referred to my lord the most eminent
 Prefect, and his highness shall approve it.' Another item: Menelaus, syndic: 'No one can be unaware
 of the kind of responsibility involved in the syndicate, and how I have continued to carry out all the
 orders of the Prefect and of the other (authorities); and indeed the very administration of the city
 besides. You remember when I distributed the album of magistrates between the two tribes and the
 matter was referred to my lord the most eminent Prefect, while the voting on their apportionment
 was going on, that (according to your request, moreover) the number for the two tribes was augmented
 by the arrival of others, twelve in number. I thought it necessary, and indeed I mentioned this then
 in the minutes, when the time was ripe, to enrol the fresh arrivals into the two tribes with a view
 to their having fair shares and not having to pay a second time, but once and for all(?) ... The

additional names are:—' As he continued, the assembly cried: 'Noble syndic! You have administered well! Hurrah for the patriot! Hurrah for the man of initiative! One who is worthy of the Prefect by a unique discharge of the syndicate! Just such men as this are needed!' Apollodorus, ex-magistrate: 'I am certifying in the minutes that in the number of the twelve my brother Euhemerus, by the order of the present syndic, has already performed liturgy; and we request a copy to be laid before us.' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: 'Well, since this man was previously enrolled into this tribe, we also request that Posis son of Euangelus be enrolled into the other.' The members of the second tribe cried: 'Yes! Attach(?) to us Posis son of Euangelus, the patriot! Attach(?) to us Posis son of Euangelus!' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: '... the syndic ... having spent the year ... has chosen to distribute the additional magistrates today. But since three have been enrolled into this tribe, it is necessary that the equal number of three be put into the other.' The assembly cried: 'Yes! Yes, noble syndic!' Serenus, former hypomnematographus: 'They are: Isidorus, Ischyriion, and Eudaemon son of Callimachus.' The members of the first tribe cried: 'Isidorus is someone else's man; our overseer is with the ...' Menelaus, syndic: 'We have framed the registration(?) with a view to securing equality of honour and fair shares for the two tribes; and according to the strictest justice those subsequently found ought in general to be assigned this office by lot, just as the composition of the whole album and of the two tribes was framed with the object of ensuring that membership of this or that tribe should not go by favour or malice; but since you have desired that those previously constrained to the liturgies should belong to the first tribe, then an equal number shall be given to the other tribe. Those who have performed liturgies are Ischyriion and Eudaemon; Ischyriion and Eudaemon son of Callimachus shall be enrolled in the first, which was then, and is today still performing liturgies; and instead of these we will give to the second, which begins its liturgical service from tomorrow, Posis son of Euangelus, even as you have desired, and Isidorus son of Amaranthus.' The members of the first tribe cried: 'Yes, noble syndic! You have administered well!' The members of the second tribe cried: '... You have acted unfairly.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Well, I only wanted to give equality to the tribes; but since ... and the other ... shall be given to the first.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'This ought not to have been done today; but when these men were nominated, and not when you had ended your liturgy, this should have taken place.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Posis son of Euangelus will be given to the one tribe, now performing liturgies, and Eudaemon will be given to the other ...' Nemesianus son of Apollon, formerly hypomnematographus: 'I have already certified that this ought not to have happened today, but when these men were nominated their allotment should have taken place.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Well, (I made provision for this?) in the minutes which were made when I distributed the album between the two tribes, proclaiming that "as many as are found subsequently, after the allotment of the others ... will be distributed between the two tribes to ensure equality of honour"; and accordingly, bearing in mind my words on that occasion, I distributed those subsequently found between the two tribes.' Nemesianus, hypomnematographus [sic]: 'I have already certified.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Of the other six(?) ...' Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'Let the offspring of the fathers, who have already got into the tribe, perform liturgies; that is, (the sons) of the progenitors and kinsfolk. Those who have already got in ought already to be taking part in meetings.' The assembly cried: 'Yes! Yes! Let them all take part in meetings from the 30th! Let them all take part in meetings from the 30th of the month Phaophi; or else let them be posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'What sort of people, then, do you want to take part in meetings?' The assembly cried: 'Those about to come of age, those who have already got (into the tribes).' Philoxenus, ex-magistrate: 'It is therefore necessary to suggest those who ...' Menelaus, syndic: '... to be suggested ...' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'According to what principle have they not all taken part in meetings? On whose orders have they not taken part in meetings up till today? This will not be in the competence of any one to concede ... But they ought already to be taking part in meetings, and if they have not done so they should be posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'In general, those from the album, having been submitted to my lord the Prefect, all took part in meetings, and those who did not were posted up.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'This should not have taken place today.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Do not disturb the assembly.' Nemesianus: 'Do not set pitfalls for the assembly.' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'Let them all take part in meetings!' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'What is the reason why this has not happened between then and now? It is with the intention of shielding

these people that you have done this today, after your syndicate is over.' Menelaus, syndic: 'In general, those elected and enrolled in the tribes have taken part in meetings; all who have shirked their duty have been posted up. And if your credit is good, as many as you can produce on your own credit, enrol them.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'If my credit is good, it is no thanks to you.' Menelaus, syndic: 'And it is no thanks to you if mine is. For the most estimable assembly knows how I have administered the syndicate.' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'I have certified that nothing has been paid in to the assembly in which I was posted up.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Do not confuse the assembly on a pretext of twenty ... Pay the fine!' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'You are the one who confuses everything.' Menelaus, syndic: 'The beginning of conspiracy and confusion (is) already (here). Have we already stopped ...? Pay the fine!' Heron son of Euhemerus: 'I owe nothing.' Menelaus, syndic: 'I am demanding from you; the Prefect is demanding from you; don't try to humbug me.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'He has made certification in each case(?) at his own risk.' Menelaus, syndic: 'Very well. It will increase the fortune of the assembly to produce an increased number of magistrates; that is my credit and glory, to produce more, and not to lessen the ... for us, to distribute them between the two tribes. And if others suggest (names), they are (found unsatisfactory?), but as many as I suggested are (more satisfactory?) than the other six(?). For the six(?) have been distributed between the two tribes: ... apion son of Thalamegus, ... son of ... dorus, Heraclides son of ... Heraclides son of Anelaeus, Posis son of Didymus; those discovered subsequently ... will be suggested ... agoranomus of those who are there ...' The assembly cried: '... to the Prefect about this.' Pactumenius Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: '... of those from the landowners ...'

1-5 A financial statement by the syndic is received with acclamations by the assembly.

3 τῶ ἀνάγ, κτλ.: see Part XII, note on 1413, 11 (p. 40). Here the applause is for one laying down office.

4 παρετέθη ἡμῖν: see *ibid.* (on l. 14).

5 ἄλλο: or ἄλλο[ν]? Cf. BGU 361 ii 10: ἄλλον ὁμοίως ἐξ ἱπομνηματισμῶν. From this point onwards the document is largely concerned with the distribution between the first tribe, now finishing its period of service, and the second, whose period begins tomorrow, of some additions to the album (λευκάμα) of ἀρχοντες. Claims and counter-claims to certain of these are made by the representatives of the respective tribes; the principle of the avoidance of too frequent reappointment to liturgies is an important consideration in the discussion. For the περίοδος in which the different φυλαί became responsible for filling these posts, and limitations restricting reappointment, see Skeat and Wegener in *JEA* xxi 245; Wegener, *Actes* pp. 513 seq.

6 At the end of the line, some word meaning 'authorities' is to be supplied.

7 δια[ν]ῶν: also in 1469, 4 (3rd cent.); PSI 804, 8 seq. (A.D. 301).

7[ε] λευκάμα τῶν ἀρχόντων: τὸ βουλευτικὸν (τῶν βουλευτῶν) λ. (= album decurionum) is met with in the fourth-century P. Princeton AM 8937 (*JEA* xii 116 seqq.); this, if the suggestions in the introduction about the identity of the ἀρχοντες here are right, will be a different list.

8 ἡγεμόνι: for the part played by the Prefect in the assignment of liturgies, see Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 15 seqq.

9 ἐπαυξηθήτας (sc. -τες): with this rather inexact use of the word, cf. 17, below; used of increasing numbers of a συνέδος, *SB*. 7453, 33 (an inscription of Ptolemaic date).

10 The subject of ἐκτεῖσαι can hardly be the same as that of ἔχειν, which must be the φυλή; it is the ἀρχοντες who are in danger of paying twice over. We must assume that the construction is a little loose here.

11 ἀπὸ μιᾶς . . . ἡμέρας: with ἀπὸ μιᾶς, perhaps cf. PSI 286, 22 (3rd/4th cent.): μετ(α)λλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ μιᾶς αὐτὸν πληρώσαι; 'once and for all' would make good sense. But the rest of the phrase is hard to supply; Skeat suggests ἐως μιᾶς: '(from the first (day)) till the first (day)'

ἐξ[ῆς] λέγοντος: cf. P. Col. inv. 181+182, 4 (*TAPA* lxxviii 371 seqq.); and so apparently in 1503, 10 (in an uncertain context). We must suppose that a list of the twelve additional names followed here in the syndic's speech.

12 ἔρησι[σ]τέ: cited by LSJ only from Damascius, with a different meaning.

μιᾶ ἀν' αἰῶνος: see D. G. Roos, *Mnemosyne*, Series 3, 6, 172 seqq.; Björck, *Erano* xlvi (1948), pp. 72 seqq.; Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*, pp. 216 seqq.

τοιούτους, κτλ.: does this mean 'this is the kind of *syndic*' or 'the kind of *ἀρχοντες* we want'? The former is perhaps more likely.

12 seqq. Apollodorus, hearing the name of his brother in the list of twelve names, points out that he has already served. (This might imply that the brother was not present at the meeting.)

14 *ταύτην*: the first tribe.

15 οἱ ἔπειθ' δευτέρας (sc. φυλῆς): see Wegener, *Actes* 578 seqq.; *Symb.* 166, 171 seq.

15 seq. [κό]λλετον: so, perhaps, rather than Skeat's alternative suggestion [ἀ]λλετ(τ)ον, which also involves emendation in 16 and assumes an even more awkward word-division.

16 ἐπιλογέσεις 'delays', or ἐπιστροφάς 'changes'? Serenus is the first to make an objection later taken up and reiterated by another speaker, 29 seqq.

17 seq. The relation between the twelve additional names and the six—three for each of the two tribes—mentioned here and below is puzzling. *ταύτην* is again the first tribe, *τὴν ἄλλην* the second.

18 *κατατεθῆναι*, which is certain, is perhaps a mistake for *καταλεγῆναι*.

19 seq. The members of the first tribe protest that Isidorus does not belong to the second; the restoration and meaning of their next remark are uncertain.

20 ἄπειραμα: elsewhere only in BGU 52 ii 5 (2nd cent.).

21 *κατὰ τὸ δέκατον*: cf. P. Rend. Harr. 69, 21.

22 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή*, κτλ.: cf. 1409, 15; similar sense 1188, 5; P. Amh. 68, 10; 1642, 29.

29 seq. ἄλλ' ὅπ[η]νίκα οὐ[τοι] ὡ[σ]τέμαρθησαν: see Wegener, *Mnem.* 19–28.

35 What might be taken as *ἐξ* here and twice in 55 has a sign above the *ξ* and to the right of it which looks like the form of *υ* which is often used at the end of words. In the two latter cases the sign is crossed by what might be an abbreviation stroke. It is therefore possible that this is in each case an abbreviation of *ἐξ(ε)υ(ρεθέντων)*, (-τες); which would make good sense. Against this it must be noted that the writer rarely abbreviates even when he might be expected to do so.

36 *τὰ φάσαντα*, κτλ.: by being born into it? Nemesianus seems to be asserting that membership ought to go by heredity.

37 For the 30th of the month as the date for meetings of the Senate, see Wegener, *Symb.* 183.

38 seq. *μαλλοκουρη*: read *μελλοκουρη*(?) ; so Skeat, who compares Olsson's discussion in *Aegyptus* vii, pp. 111 seq., of *μελλοκουρία* in 1484, 4. (The ending of the word here will have depended on what its etymology was thought to be.)

39 Restore *ἐύρον*[τα[s]]? If so, the connexion with the last remark is obscure.

41 *ἐκτεθῆναι*: the verb, used elsewhere of the posting up of notices and names of persons (see LSJ, s.v.), is here used of the persons themselves.

43 *σκαῖνδαλίζης*: if the restoration is right, this is the first occurrence of the word in the documentary papyri.

45 *σκηπ(τ)ρίζειν*: cf. P. Ryl. 569, 6; 8 seq.; P. Hib. 35, 10; PSI 449, 14; Preisigke, *Fachw.*, s.v.

45 seq. *ἀπ[α]ξ[α]π[α]λ[α]ῖς*, κτλ.: the *syndic*, ignoring the last speaker, assures the assembly that attendance at meetings has been generally insisted upon, and that defaulters have been posted up.

46 seq. *ἐάν πιστευθῆς . . . τῆ σεναυῶ πίστει*: a sneer by the *syndic* at his opponent's credit, and perhaps at his financial position; with the hint that he will be financially responsible for his nominations.

48 seq. It seems that Heron is complaining that a fine paid by him after he had been posted up (for failure to attend meetings?) has not found its way into the accounts. The *syndic* denies that it has been paid at all. In 52 Nemesianus is evidently supporting Heron, but uncertainty about the meaning of *ἐκάστον* makes the point of his remark obscure.

54 One might of course divide *πλέον . . . καὶ μὴ ἔλαττον*, but *ἡ* which follows would be difficult.

55 *ἐξ(?)*: the list which follows possibly contained six names. *Θαλαμηγός* is surprising as a proper name, but seems certain; so is *Μελέαιος*.

57 The mention of an *ἐγορανόμος* may perhaps be evidence that the document is to be dated after c. 288/9, when this office is said (1252, vs. 15 seqq.; cf. 1642, Part XIV, p. 65) to have been revived after long disuse.

2408. LETTER FROM THE *Praefectus Annonae Alexandriae*

40.5 × 20 cm.

A.D. 397.

This document, which must have been about 70 cm. wide when complete, is a copy of a letter acknowledging the receipt of 2,000 artabae of corn, from a Prefect of the Annona of Alexandria to the Exactor (of the Oxyrhynchite nome). A similar and evidently contemporary document is P. Rylands 652, from the Hermopolite nome. The body of our document is in a bold upright hand; the papyrus is very thick, but presents a good writing surface. Written along the fibres; verso blank.

[δ διασημότατος ἐ]παρχος ἀνώνης Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρείας
(blank) ἐξάκτορι
[Ὁξυρυγίτου] χ[αί]ρο(εω).
[κατὰ τὴν ἀποσταλείσαν παρὰ σοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀναφορὰν γίνωσκε εἰσκεκο]μισθαι
τοῖς καθ[ά] Ἀλεξανδρεῖ[α]ν θείους θησαυροὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὸ σέ νομοῦ διὰ Μακρο-
βίου καὶ Φιλαίου καὶ
[c. 44 ll. ὑπὲρ ἐνδεκάτης ἡνδι]κτίονος σίτου ἄρ]τράβ[α]ς δυ[ο]χιλίας
5 [πρὸ καθ(ανδῶν) (ἔτους) .. τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν
αἰωνίων ἀγ]ούστων ὑπατία Φλα[ουίων] Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικ[οῦ τ]ῶν
λαμπροτάτων καὶ ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς
[c. 61 ll. -]λα ἀπὸ στρατιάς ὑποδέκ[τα]μ[ι]ς καὶ ἐξ ἀναφορᾶς ἰδίου κινδύνου
Ἀρποκρᾶ καὶ Ταυρίνου καὶ Ἀγάβ[ω]ρος
[c. 58 ll. καὶ] Φλ(αουίου) [Ν]εμεσίνου οἰκονόμων καὶ Ἀμμωνίου βοηθοῦ
διακεντήσεως, ἢ ἐπ' ἀντίτυπον ὑποτέτ[α]κ[τ]αι].
[c. 57 ll. ὑπογ]ραφῆναι σοι προσέταξα.
[. . . τῶ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ ἀνώνης Ἀλεξανδρείας . . .]ρεθησ[.].α
εἰρηκεκομ[ίσθαι] τοῖς ὄρριοις κατὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν τῶν προκείμενων οἰκονόμων
καὶ τοῦ πρόκείμενον
10 [βοηθοῦ c. 51 ll.]θεις ἐν κοττιδιανοῖς λόγιοις ἐπὶ ὑπογραφῆς τῶν προειρη-
μένων ἀπὸ νομοῦ Ὁξυρυγί[τ]ου διὰ Ἀμμωνίου ὑπὲρ [ἐν]δεκάτης
[ἡνδικτίονος c. 25 ll.]η γυν[ό]μεναι ἐπὶ σοῦ, ἢ δηλούμεν κύρ[ω]σι.ν.
[οἰκονόμος συμφωνῶν τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον τοῦ] σίτου [ἐν] ἀρτάβαις δυ[ο]χιλίας.
Φλ(αουίου) Νεμεσίνου οἰκονόμος συμφωνῶν τὸ προκείμενον μέτρον τοῦ σίτου
ἐν ἀρτάβαις δυ[ο]χιλίας.
[Ἀμμωνίου βοηθοῦ c. 20 ll. ἀπο]χῆ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου σίτου ἀρταβῶν

δισχλίων. Άριος βοηθός συμφωνί δι' έμου Αγάθωνος σκρνιαριού εν άρτάβασις
δισχλίαι[5].

2nd h.

[c. 35 ll. τήν]νεκτίσαν από σου αυθεντικην άποχήν.

3rd h.

15 [c. 42 ll.]ν άποχ() τήν ενεκτίσαν από σου αυθεντικην άποχήν τούδε του
ιστύπου δ πρόκειται.

6 l. ίδιω κινδύνω 8 i of σοι has curls at top and bottom which make it resemble a narrow o
14, 15 l. ενεχθείσαν

1 ε]ραχος, κτλ.: the *praefectus annonae* of P. Ryl. 652 (dated by the editors late 4th/5th cent.)
is Flavius Soterichus. For the title, see their note on l. 1.

1 seq. εζάκτορι, κτλ.: the space for the official's name is left blank, and the title evidently added
later, probably by the same hand, but in smaller and more sloping writing. On the *exactor*, see Part
XII, pp. 82 seqq. (on 1428), and the authorities cited there; also Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 299 seqq.;
Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt. Economic Studies*, p. 219. τοδ υπό σέ νομου in the next line
illustrates the competence of the official; showing also that there is only one for the Oxyrhynchite
nome at this date, as in 1428 (4th cent.). It is interesting to find his sphere of interest including
exactions in kind, and not confined to arrears.

3 [... αναφοράν . . .]: cf. εξ αναφοράς in l. 6, below. The editors of P. Ryl. 652 in their note on
l. 4 suggest 'payment'. The round figure 2000 looks very much like an instalment payment.

θείους θησαυροίς: the same epithet as is employed to qualify the financial *θησαυροί* in P. Lips. 62,
ii 14 (A.D. 385); see Wilcken, *Grds.* p. 165.

διά Μ. και Φ.: cf. διά Βησαρίωνος, P. Ryl. 652, 5; this suggests that the previous line there can
be entirely restored as here, and is thus 117 letters long. The second και which follows may not have
introduced a third name; if not, perhaps the last two lines, endorsements in a second and third hand,
are from these individuals. The rest of the document is in a single hand, since it is a copy. It is not
clear to whom the statements contained in ll. 5-11 are to be attributed. That in l. 10 at any rate must
have been made by one of the Alexandrian authorities.

5 In spite of the fact that a long space is left blank at the end of l. 4, εισηκενο]μισθαι . . . και
αναφέρεσθαι are doubtless both governed by γίνωσκε. The space may have been left because the
actual amount in the *pro forma* was left blank. If so, what the latter certifies to the *exactor* is: (a) that
the consignment has arrived at the barns of Alexandria; (b) that it is *being* (pres. inf.) reported (or
paid over) to the imperial officers.

6]α: presumably end of the name of one of the *υποδέκται*, in dative (after αναφέρεσθαι). The
form of their designation invites comparison with ε]πό υπομηματογράφων υποδέκτης ρομ(ου), κτλ. in
P. Ryl. 652.

]βου κινδύνου: we should presumably correct to ίδιω κινδύνω. The σκρνιαριος in 13, below,
named Agathon; if he is identical with the man here, we should perhaps compare what is said in
Justinian, *Edict* xiii 27 about delivery at the risk of local officials, including *scriniarius*.

7 Perhaps supply μετά της (name) και] Φλ. Ν. κτλ.
διακενήσεως: or διά κεντήσεως? Whichever word is understood, it must have had some special
documentary sense. The οικονομιοι and βοηθός in question are presumably officials at the Alexandrian
granaries.

επ' αντίτυπον: επ] perhaps in the prospective sense 'with a view to receiving' (a copy). P. Ryl. 652
has instead ης το αντίτυπον υποτέταται. (Skeat suggests that the reading here is a mistake for ης τ'
ών.) We should perhaps place a full stop after that in Ryl. 652 and assume that η έμ] καθοσίωσις
begins a new sentence.

9 On the analogy of P. Ryl. 652 the line will begin with the name of the *praefectus annonae* in the

dative; his titles may well be abbreviated here and so one cannot say how much might be supplied.
Before εισηκενο]μισθαι it is hard to read the abbreviated epithets read by the editors of P. Ryl. 652 in
their text (l. 10). Perhaps here some word meaning 'we certify'.

όρριοίς: this confirms the editors' conjectured expansion of ορ() in P. Ryl. 652, 10. The όρρια
are no doubt synonymous with *θησαυροί* (at Alexandria, as above); cf. Wilcken, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

10 κοττιδιανοίς λέγοις: κοτ(τ)ιδιανός occurs elsewhere in Greek only in Lydus, *De Magistratibus*
107, 18; 160, 1.

επι υπογραφής, κτλ.: 'bearing the subscription of . . .', cf. P. Lips. 63, 12 (4th cent.).

11 η δηλούμεν κύριωσι]ν: similar language occurs in P. Lond. 164, 3 seq.: . . . τών μεν δηλωθέντων
κεκυρώσθαι και μετά κύρωσιν κτλ.; unfortunately an obscure passage.

13 Perhaps supply συμφωνεί as main verb; though elsewhere in this document it takes an accu-
sative.

14 [. . . εσχον? . . .]: cf. (e.g.) P. Warren 3, 23 seq.

2408. MEMORANDA OF AN OFFICIAL

33 × 36.5 cm.

Late second century.

On the verso of an unpublished register of loans, to judge from its proper names
and place-names originating somewhere in Upper Egypt, perhaps at Thebes; written
across the fibres in a sloping hand. Short private memoranda on a variety of official
matters, with many abbreviations, referring to a register of business for the month
of Tybi; at least one previous column has been lost.

και τω̄ν ε]πι] Θ[η]βαίδος χωρίς 'Οάσεως.
περι άρθε]ι[as ε]β[α]φών ά(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) δε.
άντέγραφα τω̄ με] . . . Τυ(βι?) κολ(λήμ.) ε]β.
η]δη?] δεδωκό(ηκα) Τυ(βι) κολ(λήμ.) ε].
5 π(ερί) τοῡ άποδοθ[η]ναι τ[α]ς ιερατικ[α]ς συντάξεις ά(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) ε].
της γρ(αφ[η]ς) τ[ο] ά(ντίγραφ.) ε] []έσταλ(κα) τω̄ βασιλ(ικω̄) γρ(αμματε] εν̄ ειδη] και τ[α] ιδια μέρ[η]
ανάκληρώση, και όσοι δε η]τήσαντο ξεπεσάλησ(αν).
π(ερί) τοῡ τ[ον] σε]ιτο]ν] καθαρ[ον] και άδολ(ον) πέμπειν ά(ντίγραφ.?) κολ(λήμ.) λθμ.]
τ[ο] κελ[ε]υσθ[εν] παρατηρ[ω].
10 π(ερί) θυσιων̄ τοῡ ιερωτάτου Νιλου ά(ντίγραφ.?) . . .[. . .] ε].
άντέγραφα Τυ(βι) κολ(λήμ.) (blank).

2 ε: see commentary 3 τ̄ probably = Τυ(βι); what looks like ο between τ and υ is perhaps
only a blot 5 π' = π(ερί)

. . . and of those in the Thebaid, exclusive of the Oasis.
'About the watering of the soil: copy(?) on sheets 4-5. I replied to the . . . Tybi, sheets 12-13.
I have already(?) administered (the matter): Tybi, sheet 16.
'About the payment of the priestly levies: copy(?) on sheet 10(?). The copy of the document I
have dispatched to the royal scribe, that he may be informed and perform his own part; and as
many as have made requests have been despatched.
'About the sending of pure and unadulterated grain: copy(?) on sheets 39-40. I am observing
the orders.
'About the sacrifices of the most sacred Nile: copy(?) . . . 4. I replied, Tybi, sheet (blank).'
2 περι άρθε]ι[as ε]β[α]φών: cf. 1409, 19; P. Thead. 20, 4.

a is perhaps *ἀντίγραφον* rather than *ἀντίγραφο* here and in 5, 8, 10 below, because (1) *ἀντίγραφο* is written in full in 3, 11; (2) the same abbreviation stands for a neuter substantive in 6.

δε: cf. εβγ, λθμ, below: the reference is plainly to consecutive sheets.

4 *δεδιακ(η)κα*: for different ways of forming the perfect of *διακείν*, see LSJ, s.v.

5 *ιερaticός συντάξις*: cf. *Archiv* v 387 (P. Hawara No. 188 b 2, 2nd cent.); Part VII, p. 199.

6 seq. *ἐν εἰδῆ*, κτλ.: cf. *Archiv* iv 122, col. iv 5 seq.: τὸ ἀντίγραφόν σοι [ἐπι]στ[έ]λλεται, φέλλετε, ἐν εἰδῆς καὶ τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώσεις; so *ibid.* v 7 seqq. (= *W. Chr.* i 52).

8 seq. This entry is enclosed in round brackets, perhaps to indicate that the matter is not finished with.

10 τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νέλου: cf. BGU 176, 11 seq.: ὑπὲρ ἀναβάσεως τοῦ ἱερωτάτου [Νέλου]; BGU 12, 3 seq.: [τῆς τοῦ ἱερωτάτου Νέλου ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ ἀναβάσεως.

2410. PETITION

34.5 × 26.5 cm.

A.D. 120.

Remains of three columns, written along the fibres of a sheet of papyrus of good quality. The verso is blank. Of col. i, in a small hand, nothing remains but the ends of the last nine lines:]θα /]τ. τιπ. . /]... κα ὡς /]... και /] ὅπως ἐάν /]... . πρὸς / (blank) /]Ἀθριανῶν [/] θ[; the last two lines no doubt contained a date. The next two columns, which are broken off at the top, contain two copies of an identical text, with unimportant variants; the body of this is in a large backward-sloping hand which tends to separate words by spaces. Most of the text can be reconstructed after the lost beginning; the text of the first copy (A) is given here, with supplements from the second (B). Two petitioners complain of the aggressive behaviour of a neighbour, who has been acquiring land for the purpose of sub-letting it.

A

[.....] καὶ ..[.].[
[ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχ(ων) πόλεως. Ὁρείων τις
[.....]]ς καταφρονῶν
[ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπραγμο]σύνης, τὸ πρῶτον
5 [ὑδρεύματι τῆς] κώμης ἀπὸ προγόνων
[... ἐξ. .ν ομ]..... ἐ[κώ]λυσεν χρᾶσθαι·
[οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ] καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν εὐπορηθ[έ]ντας
[ὑδρεύσεως] μετέρχεται, βουλόμενος κ[α]ἰ
[τούτου ἡμᾶς] ἐκδιώκειν· καὶ ἀπὸ
10 [βασιλικῆς] ἡμῶν γῆς πειράζει (ἀρούρας) β
ἀ[ποσπάσ]α, καὶ ἰδιωτικ[ή]ν ποιῆσαι·
ν[ομᾶς τ]ῶν ἐκ τῆ[ς Νικα]γοριανῆς οὐσίας,
πρ[ότερον] δι' ἡμῶν οὐσ[ας], ὑπερβαλῶν

ξένοις [μισθο]ῖ, τὰ ἡμῶν [κ]τήνη βούλο-
15 μερος διαφθαρῆναι· οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς
αὐτῆς οὐσίας μ[ισθοῦ]τα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρας
γᾶς 'βασιλικᾶς' ἐκμισθοῦται πλείονος αὐτὰ μισθῶν·
ὁ δὲ τούτου [υ]ῖός ὢν πρεσβύτερος μεχρὶ
τούτου οὐδ[ε]μίαν δαπάνην π[ε]ποίηται
20 [οὐ]δὲ μ[η]ν εἰς λόγον ὑδροφυλακίας καὶ κα-
λάμης [μετ]ὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ἀποδί-
δωσι· ὅθεν τούτου ὑπερισχύοντος
ἡμᾶς ἐν [τῇ κώμῃ] ἀξιούμεν βοθη-
θῆναι ἢν' ἰσχύσωμεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ
25 [σ]υμ[μέν]ειν. διευτύχει.
(ἐτους) [δ] Αὐτ[οκράτο]ρος Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ
[Ἀθριανοῦ Σ]εβαστοῦ Φαμεν[ῶ]θ] κβ.
2nd h. [Α.] ὁ πρ(ογεγραμμένος) ἐπιδεδωκ(α) κ[αθὼς πρό]κ(εῖται).
3rd h. [Ψευχῶνους Ψε]νετουάτι[ος] ἐ[πι]δεδ[ω]κα καθὼς πρόκειται.

6 Before ἐ[κώ]λυσεν, α or possibly ω 16 αὐτῆς: Νικα[γοριανῆς] B 20 υδροφυλ() in B
24 ἰδία 28 προγεγραμμένος fully written in B

'(To . . . from . . . of Oxyrhynchus(?)). A certain Horion . . . , in contempt of our easy temper has first of all hindered (us) from making use of the village irrigator, which (was at our disposal?) from (the time of) our ancestors; and not only this, but when we have availed ourselves (of water) from other sources, he persecutes us with the intention of ousting us from this also. And he is trying to seize two arouras of our crown land and make it private property; (and) having made a higher bid for some pastures from the Nicanorian estate which were formerly administered by us, he lets them to strangers, intending that our beasts shall be destroyed; he does not only lease from the same (Nicanorian) estate, but he also leases out other crown lands, letting them (the beasts?) for hire for a higher price. And this man's son, who is quite advanced in years, has never up to now made any expenditure, nor indeed does he pay into the account for irrigation guard and for straw together with his family. Wherefore, since this man is oppressing us in the village, we request assistance so that we may have the means to remain in our own place. Farewell.' (Date and subscriptions.)

3 Perhaps [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως].

3 seq. καταφρονῶν, κτλ.: cf. 1470, 15; SB. 5343, 42; P. Gen. 6, 13; 31, 10; P. Antin. 36, 12 seq.; P. Ryl. 659, 7 seq.

7 εὐπορηθ[έ]ντας: for the passive, cf. PSI 299, 18 seqq. (3rd cent.): καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ πειράζομαι, ἐπὶν πλοῦτον εὐπορηθῶ, καταλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς.

8 ὑδρεύ[ε]ως]: cited in LSJ from Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum* 35, 5.

9 seqq. The use of the expression βασιλικῆς ἡμῶν at such an early date is surprising; on the face of it it seems that the petitioners regard themselves as the owners of the βασιλική in question, which Horion is trying to transfer to the category of private land not only in fact but in name (ἰδιωτικῆν ποιῆσαι). As Sir Harold Bell points out, however, ἡμῶν may not necessarily imply actual possession; it might mean no more than 'the royal land which we lease'. But even so, it seems that we have here an early symptom of the process of assimilation by which the royal land later became merged in the private: see Bell, 'An Epoch in the Agrarian History of Egypt', *Rec. Champollion* (1922), pp. 261-71.¹

¹ Note that ἰδιωτικῆς (to agree with νομῆς) cannot be read; the η of ἰδιωτικῆ[ς] is clear in B.

12 The *Νικανοριανή ουσία*, which appears here for the first time, had perhaps belonged to Nicanor, one of the sons of the philosopher Areus, who, according to Suetonius (*Div. Aug.* 89) was like his father a personal friend of Augustus. He would come into the class of rich Alexandrians enumerated by Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich*, pp. 295 seq., among possessors of *ουσία* in Egypt. (The business man discussed by Fuks, *JJP* v, 207 seqq., seems an unlikely alternative.)

13 δι' ἡμῶν (οὐσας): perhaps an extension of the sense 'through the agency of'.
 ὑπερβαλῶν: in the sense of 'overbid', cf. 513, 25 (2nd cent.); 1633, 5 (3rd cent.).
 15 διαφθαρήναι: used P. Philad. 8, 8 (2nd cent.), P. Princeton 28, 6 (3rd cent.) of the loss of sheep from unspecified causes; here perhaps by working them to death; having hired the complainants' beasts he makes a profit by hiring them out on other lands beside those on which they were originally used? Or possibly (reading *αὐτάς* (= γὰς) for *αὐτά* in 17) he threatens to destroy them by depriving them of water.

18 ὡν πρεσβύτερος: he has attained his present mature age without ever having paid these dues.
 20 seq. *καλάμης*: since it is here coupled with *ὕδροφυλακία*, the word presumably relates to irrigation work. Gaps in embankments were plugged with bundles of fibrous stuff (see Hohlwein, *Ét. de Pap.* iv (1938), p. 69); reeds (*καλάμοι*) were regularly so used, but straw or chaff (*καλάμη*) mixed with clay was also used; see *Sinuitii Opera* (ed. Leipoldt), vol. iv (*Corp. Script. Christ. Or.*, Ser. 2a, tom. 5), p. 152, and Wiesmann's translation (*ibid.* tom. 12), p. 91.

21 μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων: cf. BGU 665, ii 1.
 22 seq. *ὑπερισχύοντος ἡμᾶς*: cf. P. Ryl. 119, 30.
 23 seqq. For the closing formula, cf. P. Flor. 91, 17 seq.; P. Lond. 924, 18 seq. (2nd cent.); SB. 4284, 14 seqq.; P. Gen. 16, 18 (3rd cent.).

2411. PETITION

39 × 32 cm.

Probably c. A.D. 173.

Remains of three columns written along the fibres in an upright hand. There is a tendency to separate words by spaces. Of col. i the ends, and of col. iii the beginnings only remain. The document is apparently a petition analogous with 237 (the Petition of Dionysia) in its free citation of a previous case. This citation is appended to the petition proper, which ends at 38, and seems to continue to the end of the document, at 80; it comprises an extensive exchange of correspondence between officials. On the verso is 2414.

i

1 [] ὑναλλαειν[] 2 [] τὰ ὑπογε- 3 [] γραμμένα τῶν ὑπογεγραμ-
 μένων 4 [] ὡν (ἀρουρ.) γ 5 [] ὡν κατοικ() 6 [] .ων (ἀρουρ.) δ
 (ἤμισ.) 7 [] . και φυλ() (ἀρουρ.) κ (ἤμισ.) 8 []] μ() ἐπ' ὀνόματος
 τοῦ πα- 9 [] τρὸς αὐτοῦ] ἡνν περι δὲ Πιναῦα 10 []] (ἀρουρ.) β και κατοικ()
 11 [] ἐπ' ὀνόμ(ατος) τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ 12 [] ὡν (ἀρουρ.) ε (ἤμισ.) και οὕτως
 13 [] β]βλοφυλ(ακ) πεποι- 14 [] π]ροσδοθέντος εἰσε- 15 []] περι
 κώμ(η) Κερκε- 16 []] τὰ ὑ[πάρ]χοντ(α) 17 []] μετὰ 18 []]
 .πο[...].με- 19 [] τῆς βιβλιοθήκης 20 [] τῶν ἐκτιήσεων στρ]ατη[γ]ῶν

21 [(δρ.)] ἀφ' ἐγὼ αὐ- 22 [τ] τ]ροσούτου ἄξια 23 []] ταλάντους
 24 []] τοῦτο 25 [] . ουχου 26 []] δ]μολογίας 27 []] ν 28 []] α

ii

καὶ τοὺς μεχ[ρ]ι τ]οῦ [] β (ἔτους) τόκους διατ[]
 30 τῶ ἐξῆς γ (ἔτει) με[τ]α]δεδο[σ]θαι ε[ί]ς] πρᾶσιν εἰς τ[ὸ] ἐνεστ(ός) (ἔτος) (δρ.) β' λθο.
 γίνοντ(αι) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (τάλ.) δ (δρ.) β' λθο. [και ε]ἰάν σοι δόξη γράψαι τῶ
 τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶ [τ]αῦτα προκηρῦξαι, και ἐάν μὲν μὴ πλείο-
 να εὐρίσκη, παραδοῦναι μοι ἧς ὑπεσχόμενν τεμ(ῆς), παραδεχο-
 μένου μοι [το]ῦ ὀφειλομένου ἐπ' ἀσφαλεία κε]φ]αλαίου και τῶν
 35 τόκων· ἐάν [δὲ] πλέον εὐρίσκη [τ]ῶν [τα]λάμων δύο, ἐμοὶ ἀ-
 ποδοθῆναι, προ[θ]ύμ]ως θε[ε]λ]ήσουτ[ι] ἐξ]ωνήσασθαι αὐτά, τὸ
 ὀφειλόμενον μοι κεφ[ά]λαιον και τοὺς τόκους, ἐν' ᾧ εὐεργετη-
 μένη. διευτύχι.
 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκελε[ύ]σθη] παραδοθῆναι το[ῖ]ς δανεισταῖς
 40 πρὸς ὑπεροχῆν μόνην, ἀπὸ πλειόνων ὑποδειγμάτων ὑ-
 πέταξά σοι ἀντίγραφ[ον] ἐπιστ[ολ]ῆ]ς Μαλλίου Κράσσου γενομέ-
 νου διο[ικ]ητο]ῦ.
 Μάλλιος Κρά[σσο]ς Ἡρώδη στρ(ατηγῶ) Μενδοσίφου [χ]αίρειν.
 βιβλίδιον Διαμαρίωνο[ς] 'Ι]σιδ]ώρου σημωσάμενος ἐπεμψά σοι·
 45 εἰ οὖν τὸ δ[η]λούμενον [δ]άγειον ἐγένετο πρὶν Ἀπολλώνιον
 τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπαρχ[ρ]έων σ[τ]ρατηγῆσα[ι], και τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ-
 τοτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόμ[α]τος αὐ]τοῦ ἐν τῶ βιβλιοφυλ(ακίω) τῶν ἐκτιήσε-
 ων παρ[ε]δόθη, [τὸ δάνειον] ἀπερλυτῆρ ἐστιν· ἐάν, ὡς οἱ
 χρημα[τ]ισταί(?) φασιν(?), χρηματισμοί(?) ἐπενεχθῶσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλε-
 50 ξανδρ[ε]ία] βιβλιο[φυλ]ακίου, ἐκ[α]ν[δ]ρ[ε]ῖν(?) ἐστιν τὰ ὑποθηκίμ[α]τα προ-
 κηρυχθ[έν]τα [ἀποδοθῆναι(?), τ]ῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἐάν τις ἦ[ν], ἐκ-
 φερομέν[η]ς] τ[ὰ] τοῦ δηλουμέ]νου Ἀπολλωνίου ὀφλήματα.
 [Ἡρώδης στρα]τηγ(ός) ἀντέγρ(αφειν).
 55 Τααρτύσιος τ[...]. .σῆς σοι, κύριέ μου, βιβλίδιον
 βουλομεν[...]. τ. σειποτε χρεωσ[τ]
 τουτουτ[...]. σεις ταλάντων [

36 θε[ε]λ]ήσουτ[ι]: l. θελησούση 40 μόνην: we must assume a space left for some reason between
 ο and ν (as between ε and λ in ὀφειλομένου in 34, above)
 B 5848 M

iii

(3 lines lost)

[.]έγραψά [σο]ι ..[]
 αυτα δημοσι[]
 [....]...λι.[]
ρη[]
 65 σ. υεσ[]
 σου και του μ[]
 στωσι... βουλ[σ]μενοι.[]
 ουδεν δε ηττον και τη[.]..]
 και ουδενος ετέρου με..[]
 70 πειλη[φ]ας την γ[ρα]φήν []
 τε δε σημ[.]...σα και με[]
 ως και της δηλωθ[είσης]
 (έτους) κγ Αντωνίου Κ[αίσαρος] τ[ου] κυρίου
 και υπετάγη τὰ προκειμ[ενα] γρη[μμ]ατα Κόσμου τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ?]
 75 και ἀν[τέ]γραψ[εν]]
 Κόσμος Ἰσιδώ[ρ]ω [] χαίρειν.]
 αγραφει ὑπο[.]χη[.]θ[.]]
 ἔτι και νῦν προκη[ρ]υ]
 ...λαβησαμ...[]
 80 (έτους) κγ Αντωνίου Κ[αίσαρος] τ[ου] κυρίου]

1 seqq. Since there is not room for a preamble in l. 1 we may take it that this was not the first column of the document. In it some land property is specified in detail; probably that of one of the debtors, which is to be auctioned. If so, *αὐτοῦ* in [9], 11 will refer to that party.

9 Πινάα: the place is unknown.

15 Κερκε[-]: many place-names in the Oxyrhynchite nome and elsewhere begin thus.

29 seqq. The petitioner, a woman (38) requests an official to write to the strategus of the nome to have some property, belonging no doubt to a debtor, put up for auction. She herself will bid two talents for it. She asks that, if her bid is accepted by the strategus, the land may be knocked down to her, and the price reduced by the amount of principal and interest outstanding; if she is overbid by another, that principal and interest be returned to her.

29 [ι]β: the damaged letter looks more like μ, but cf. τῷ ἐξῆς γγ (ἔτει) in the next line. The correspondence cited below is dated A.D. 159/60; 'years 12/13' here probably belong to the next reign.

30 εἰς τ[ὸ] ἐμεστ[ῆς] (έτος): doubtful.

31 The figure after (τάλ.) is doubtful; certainly not β (δύο, l. 35, below); what relation the sums mentioned bear to one another is obscure.

Ll. 31-38: '... and if you agree, to write to the strategus of the nome to put this property up for auction, and if he does not find a higher bid, to hand it over to me at the price I offered (or, undertook to pay), there being deducted in my favour the amount owed to me by way of security for the principal and the interest; but if he finds a higher bid than the two talents, that there should

be given back to me (who am, however, eager to purchase) the amount owed to me by way of principal and interest; in order that I may be obliged to you. Farewell.'

32 προκηρύξει: Dr. F. Pringsheim points out that this is informative, as showing a *ὑποθήκη* realized by the auction of the hypothecated land.

32 seq. *πλείονα εὔροκη*: this, as Pringsheim remarks, is another way of expressing the *ὑπεροχή* mentioned below (40; cf. 51). With the expression he compares UPZ i 514.

33 ὑπεσχόμεν: 'made a bid for', see Pringsheim, *Scritti in onore di Cont. Ferrini*, 1949, p. 296, n. 5.

33 seq. *παράδεχομένου*: agreeing with τῷ ὀφ. ἐν' ἄ. κεφαλαίου; passive (as in examples cited by *Wb.* 1, s.v. *παράδεχομαι* (3)).

34 ἐπ' ἀσφαλεία, κτλ.: cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 48, 49 seq.; P. Aberd. 19, 23.

36 θε[λ]ήσονται: masc. for fem., a common error; see Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristl. Zeit (Münchener Beiträge zum Papyrusforsch. u. ant. Rechtsgesch.* 28 (1938)), pp. 40 seq., 130.

In 39-42 follows an official's comment, introducing a precedent for the present case: 'That it has been prescribed that this be handed over to the creditors for the amount of excess (of their bid over the debt due to them) and no more, I have submitted to you, out of numerous precedents, a copy of a letter of Mallius Crassus the dioecetes.'

40 ὑπεροχήν: this, as Pringsheim points out, is the first instance of the term in the papyri. An example of *ὑπεροχή* (plural), however, has been found by Kalbfleisch, 'Hyperocha', *Archiv* xv (1953), pp. 106 seq., in a second-century Giessen papyrus; ll. 6 seq. read: ... και ἔστω ἡ πράξις Ἀφροδοτῆ ὡς προγέγραπται, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐκ [τῶν] ὑπερόχων ἀπεδόθη (sic).

ἀπὸ πλείονων, κτλ.: cf. 237, vii 13 seq.: ὅτι δὲ ταῦ(τα) οὕτως ἔχει, ἵνα και ταύτης αὐτὸν τῆς προφάσεως ἀπαλλάξω, ὑπέταξά σοι ἀπὸ πλείονων] περὶ τούτου κριθέντων ὀλίγας ἡγεμόνων και ἐπιτρόπων και ἀρχιδικαστῶν κρίσεις, κτλ. Pringsheim draws attention to Jolowicz's article 'Case Law in Roman Egypt', *Journal of the Society of Public Teachers of Law*, 1937; noting that the present case is an example of a single decision used as a precedent.

43 seqq. 'Mallius Crassus to Herodes, strategus of the Mendesian nome, greeting. I have sent you a petition of Damarion son of Isidorus, with my signature; now, if the said loan took place before Apollonius, the other debtor, became strategus, and this claim was thereafter handed over in the record-office under his name, the loan is not cancelled; if, as the *chrematistae* say(?), contracts(?) are produced from the archive in Alexandria, it is sufficient(?) for the hypothecated property to be auctioned and sold(?), the excess, if any, settling(?) the debts of the aforesaid Apollonius.'

The correspondence cited concerns an earlier case from the Mendesian nome. It begins with a pronouncement sent in 159 to Herodes, strategus of that nome, by the *διοικητής*, Mallius Crassus. The petitioner is one Damarion; one of the debtors is Apollonius, who has been a strategus. Now there is a document, P. Ryl. 427, in many fragments, which may relate to this very case. It is from a body of official correspondence from the Mendesian nome itself (Thmouis) and is largely concerned with the sale of property by auction; one of the people mentioned in it is Apollonius, strategus of the Mendesian nome. (The property itself is perhaps not necessarily situated there.) The editors of P. Ryl. 427 supply in fr. 46, 12 seq.: *Σευήρο]ν και Αντωνίου*, which would date the document at least as late as Severus and Caracalla; but the supplement seems uncertain, and the only date expressly mentioned is 'year 20 of Antoninus' in fr. 17+18. (In fr. 32 Antoninus is spoken of as deceased.) Most of the Thmouis papyri seem to belong to the second century rather than the third.

43 Mallius Crassus was not previously known as *διοικητής*; but in P. Tebt. 287, 7 (A.D. 161-9) we hear of a Crassus whose title the editors restore as *ἐπιστρέτηγ]ον*. The case in which he takes part (see editors' note on l. 6, p. 50) is some years earlier. (Note that by 162 the *διοικητής* is Vonasius Facundus.)

49 χρηματισμοί(?) ἐπεσεχθῶσι, κτλ.: cf. 237 v 27 seq.: ... τοσοῦτων χρηματισμῶν] περὶ τῶν νο[.....] ὑπὸ τῶν β[ε]βλιοφυλάκων ἐπετηγμένων?

50 This assumes that *βεβλιοφυλάκιον* has been abbreviated as in 47, above.

ὑποθηκμαία: as Pringsheim notes, the subst. is not found elsewhere before the Byzantine period.

51 ἐκφέρεισθαι in the sense 'pay', 'settle' a debt seems unknown elsewhere; a sixth-century example of *ἐκφέρειν* meaning 'abliefern (Steuern)' is given in *Wb.*

55 The feminine proper name Τααρτύσις is found in SB. 7460, 37 (2nd cent.);]. . σης after the lacuna will agree with it. The connexion of Taartysis with Damarion is obscure.

56 Perhaps βουλόμεν[ός σε φροντίσαι; cf. P. Würzb. 9, 56.

76 Κάσμος: no doubt the ἐπίτροπος (οὐσιακῶν or εἰκοστῶν?) of P. Ross.-Georg. ii 26 (A.D. 160). In P. RyI. 427, fr. 16, αἰρεσίν σοι δέδωκεν κοσ. [might refer to the same person.

77 ἀγραφεί οι ἄ γράφει?

2412. ACCOUNT OF MONEY PAYMENTS

46.5 × 35 cm.

A.D. 28/9.

After a heading, unfortunately mutilated (1-7), an account recording money payments extending over three years—the 14th, 13th, and 12th of Tiberius, in that order—for poll tax and various trade taxes, and for 'the price of wheat', from six villages; of these, four—Ogou, Tekmi, Kollint(athyr), Pyrgo(tos)—are known to be in the Heracleopolite nome; the name of another, Mouchis, is known as a village in that nome and of one in the Fayûm, and the remaining name, Ibion, is common all over Egypt. This, together with the occurrence of proper names (for instance, Panetbeuis) characteristic of the Heracleopolite nome,¹ makes it certain that the document originated there.

The text is written in a neat upright hand. In col. i at irregular intervals, and without apparent relevance to the original text, some amounts in talents and drachmae have been jotted down in the thick sloping hand of a text on the verso; since it seems likely that they relate rather to the latter, they have been ignored here. Of the ἀργυρικά, the most regular payment is that made for λαογραφία, at the rather high rate of 24 dr. 2 ob. yearly; a number of entries record a reduced payment of 8 dr. for persons deceased—evidently during the current year. To the amounts for poll tax are occasionally added charges for various χειρωνάξια; that for tailors (ἡπη(τῶν)), ll. 36, 39, 137, at 6 dr.; for weavers(?) (γε(ρδίων?)), l. 41, at 6 dr.; for potters (κεραμ(έων)), for one individual three times (ll. 76, 158, 187), at 24 dr.; for another twice (ll. 98, 166) at 40 dr.; for brick-makers (πλιν(θεντῶν)), l. 100, at 24 dr.; for florists(?) (στε(φανοπλόκων?)), l. 139, at 6 dr.; for an unspecified χειρωνάξιον, l. 37, at 6 dr.; another unspecified charge, in l. 57, of 9 dr.

On τιμή πυροῦ in general, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, pp. 24, 365 seq. Here we find it, as we should have expected, collected with money taxes. The sums in 33, 123, 133 are puzzling; in each case the total is nearly, but not quite, the sum of the previous entries. It is also hard to see the significance of the higher figure in 123.

¹ Skeat, however, notes the occurrence in lines 43 seq. of two names virtually confined to the Fayûm: Stotoetis and Petesuchus.

	i		
	[	]ου περ[. .]εκ[
	[	] τόπου	
	[	]δρους καὶ δυσ-	
	[	π]ρός τιμῆν πυροῦ	
5	[	] καὶ τῶν ἀπό	
	[	]Τ[ι]β[ε]ρίου Καίσαρος	
	[	τιμῆς π]υροῦ καὶ ἀργυρικῶν	
	[	]L	γγ Ϛ
	[	]	ιγ =
10	[	]	λ
	[	]ς	λε
	[	]	κ
	[	]	κ
	[	]Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσόδ(ῶρου)	κζβς
15	[	]	οε
	[	]	κβ
	[	]	κς
	[	]	ιγ
	[	]	ἄολα-ς
20	[	]	φπηβ
	[	]	κ[
	[	]	κγς
	[	]	κ. βς
	[	]	κ
25	[	]	κβς
	[]	.
	[	]	λε
	[	]	ιε
	[	]	οε
30	[	]	κς
		ii	
		Ἀπολλῶς Διονυσόδ(ῶρου)	κζβς
		Ἡρακλῆς Ἀπολλῶ(τος) μολιβ(ουργός)	πηϚ
		(γίν.) τιμῆς (πυροῦ) ἰδ(έτους)	ζξηϚ

	ἀργυρι[κῶ]ν ἰδ (ἔτους) Τέκμι	
35	Σεμ[θον]άης Τρύφωνος χει(ρωναξίου) ἠπη(τῶν) 5 λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
	Ἀρνώθης Κομανο(ῦ) χει(ρωναξίου)	5
	Ἀρίστιππος Ὀνώφριο(ς)	
	χει(ρωναξ.) ἠπη(τῶν) 5 λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
40	Κο[λλ]οῦθης Σεμβοναέυς χει(ρωναξ.) γε(ρδίων?) 5 λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.) λ =	
	Παθώτης Ἡρακλείο(υ) λ(αο)γρ.	κδ =
	Στοτοῆτις Ὡρου	κδ =
	Πετεσο(ῦχος) Οση() Στοτο(ήτεως) Στώ(εως)	κδ =
45	Ὀνώφριος Ἀριστίππου	κδ =
	Πετεχῶν υἱός	κδ =
	Ἀρίστιππος ἄλλος	κδ =
	Ἀραβίων ἄλλος	κδ =
	Χ[ατύλ]ις Ἀριστίππου(υ)	κδ =
50	Πετεεμμῆ(ς?) Παλλαῦτο(ς)	κδ =
	*Ὡρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Ἡρακλείο(υ) Ἀρπικ(ῶτος)	κδ =
	Πτόλλις Φίλωνος	κδ =
	*Ὡρος Ἡρᾶτο(ς) Διοσκοῦ(τος)	κδ =
55	Σεμβονάης Τρύφωνο(ς)	κδ =
	Ἄπεις Ἰσιδώρου	
	ἐπ' ἴσης θ λ(αο)γρ. κδ =	λγ =
	Ἄδραστος Ἰσιδώρου	κδ =
	Φίβις πρεσβ(ύτερος) Ἄτρεύς	κδ =
60	Στώυς ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Πετεῆτις Σώμφιος	κδ =
	Μόις Μόιτος ἰχθυ(σπώλης?)	κδ =
	Ἡρᾶς Διοσκοῦτο(ς)	κδ =

40 l. Σεμβοναέυς: -eus for -eus passim in this text

iii

Ἄσφεύς Φίβιος λ(αο)γρ. κδ =

65 Στώυς Ψευταῆ(τος) κδ =

	*Ὡρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Διονύσιο(ς) Ἀρτεμιδ(ῶρου)	κδ =
	Ἀρπικῶς Ἡρακλείο(υ)	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) ἀδελφός	κδ =
70	Πανετβεῦς —	κδ =
	Κεφαλᾶς Πτολεμαίο(υ)	κδ =
	Ἰβίανος	
	*Ὀλόκαλος —	κδ =
	Κολλωτ(αθύρ)	
75	Σεμβεῦς Ὡρου	
	κεραμ(έων) [κ]δ λ(αο)γρ. [κδ] = (γίν.)	μη =
	Σεμβε[ῦς] Πετρενου()	κδ =
	Ἀρπαῆσ[ις] αρχω() ἀρσή(σιος?) υἱό(ς?)	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς Πετρενου()	κδ =
80	*Ὡρος Ἐργέως	κδ =
	Πετρενου() Ἀροντώ(του)	κδ =
	Ἀπολλῶς Ὡρου	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) Πατναῦτιο(ς)	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς Ὡρου Κεπάρι(ος?)	κδ =
85	Πανετβ(εῦς) Σεμβ()	κδ =
	ἐτελ(εύτησαν)	
	Ἄτρῆς Ὡρου	η
	Φαμῆς Ἀπολλωνίο(υ)	η
	*Ὡρος Σεμβέ[υ]ς	η
90	Πυργῶ(τος)	
	Ὀναφρῆς Παρμενίο(υ)	κδ =
	Κεφαλᾶς Ἀμολέυς	κδ =
	Ὀνώ(φριος) Ἀμολέυς	κδ =
	Σεμβεῦς — θανό(ντος?)	κδ[=]
95	*Ὡρος Πετοσει(ρεως) ἐτελ(εύτησαν)	η
	*Ὀγου	
	Θέων Ῥωμαίου	
	κεραμ(έων) μ λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	ξδ =

	iv	
	Μούχε[ως]	
100	χει(ρωναξ.) πλυν(θευτών) Πάεις — λαογρ(αφίας)	κδ
	Άρβαίθης *Ωρου	κδ =
	Σαρακοῦς Σιωάτο(s)	κδ =
	Σωσᾶς Παρετβ(εύεως)	κδ =
105	Στοιμίης Ξισφίτρο(s)	κδ =
	Σωσᾶς Παναῦτος	κδ =
	Άρψήμις Ξεμβέως	κδ =
	Σαρᾶς Πάιτος	κδ =
	Άθηνόδωρο(s) Ζωίλο(v)	κδ =
110	Νεχθεμβήης υἱός	κδ =
	Άτρῆς Θεοδώρου	κδ =
	Πεβαῦς Ζάννιδ(ος)	κδ =
	Σεμθομημός —	κδ =
	Άτρῆς Σεμθομημόντ(ος)	κδ =
115	Νικόστρατος *Ηράτο(s)	κδ =
	Πετοσει(ρις) Παρετβ(εύεως)	κδ =
	Χατύλις Πετώντ[ο](s) έτελ(εύτησεν)	η
	Πανετβε(ύις) Παθείκου	κδ =
	Στώως Ζωίλου	κδ =
120	Στώως — κηρ()	κδ =
	Στώως Πάιτος	κδ =
	Παποιντώ(s) Άλεξάνδ(ρου)	κδ =
	(γίν.) ιδ (έτους) άργ(υρικ.) άλγ =	
	(γίν.) άωια =	

	v	
125	(γίν.) ιγ (έτους) τιμήης (πυρ.) *Ωρος Σεμθογα. . . .	ιϛ
	Σεμβίων Παρμενί[ο](v)	ιηϛ
	Άπολλῶ(s) Διονυσ(οδώρου)	κζβς
	Άρπαῆσι(s) Κεφαλᾶτ[ο](s)	κ
130	Πανετβε(ύις) Παθείκου	κξ

	‘Ηρακλᾶς Άπολλῶ(τος)	ϛβϛ
	Σεμβίων Παρμενί(ο)	ιϛ
	(γίν.) τιμήης (πυρ.) ιγ (έτους)	σιγϛ
	άργυρικῶν τροῦ ιγ (έτους)	
135	Τέκμ Άριστιππο(s) *Ογνώφριο(s)	
	χει(ρωναξ.) ήπη(τῶν) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	λ =
	Κολλούθης Σεμβ[ο]ν[αέυς]	
	χει(ρωναξ.) στε(φανοπλόκων?) ς λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	λ =
140	*Ογνώφρις Άριστι(ππου)	κδ =
	Άράτυπος υἱός	κδ =
	Άραβίων ἄλλο(s)	κδ =
	Χατύλις Άριστίππου	κδ =
	Πετεμμη(ῆς) Παλλαῦτο(s)	κδ =
145	*Ωρος ἀδελφός	κδ =
	Πανετβ(εύις) —	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) ‘Ηρακλείο(v) Άρπι(κῶτος)	κδ =
	Στώως ‘Ηρακλείου	κδ =
	*Ωρος υἱός	κδ =
150	Πετεῆτις Σώμφιος	κδ =
	Πτόλλις Φίλωνο(s)	κδ =
	Σωτήριχ(ος) ‘Ηρακλείου Τνε.ο()	κδ =
	Άδραστος ‘Ισιδώρου	κδ =
	Στώως Άτρέυς	κδ =
155	ί() Παλλαῦς *Ογνώ(φριος)	κδ =
	Κολλυτ(αθύρ)	
	Σεμβέ(υ)ς *Ωρ[ου]	
	κερ(αμέων) κδ λ(αο)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	μη[=]

141 l. Άριστιππος

	vi	
160	Σωτήριχ(ος) Πατναούτιρ(s) λ(αο)γρ.	κδ[=]
	Άπολλῶς *Ωρου	κδ[=]
	Σεμθομημός —	κδ[=]
	Άτρῆς Άρνώτου	κδ[=]

	Σεμθομημοῖς Ἀργ[ώτ]ρ(υ)	κδ [=]
	*Ο[γ]ου	
165	Θέων Ῥωμαίου	
	κεραμ(έων) μ λ(ασ)γρ. κ[δ] = (γίν.)	ξ[δ] =
	Πυργῶ(τος)	
	Οὐα[φ]ρῆς Παρμενίου	κδ [=]
	*Ωρος Πετοσεί(ρεως)	κδ [=]
170	Ἀρπαῆσις Κεφαλᾶτο(ς)	κδ [=]
	(γίν.) ἀργυρικὰ ιγ (ἔτους) ψ.[]	
	ιβ (ἔτους) ἀργυρικῶν	
	Τέκμ	
	Ἰωνῶφρις Ἀριστί(ππου)	[κδ =]
175	Πετεχῶν υἱὸς	[κδ =]
	Ἀρ[α]βίων ἄλλος	[κδ =]
	Ἀρί[στ]ιππος ἄλλος	[κδ =]
	Χατῦλις Ἀριστίππου	[κδ =]
	Στῶ[υς] Ἡρακλείρ(υ)	[κδ =]
180	*Ωρος υἱὸς	κδ =
	Ἄδραστος Ἰσι[δ]ώρο[υ]	κδ =
	Ἀκῶρις Πά[ι]το[ς]	κδ =
	Μόρις — ἰχθυ(οπώλης?) ἐτελ(εύτησεν)	η
	Πανετβ(εῦις) Χακρεν[]	
185	Κολλωντ(αθύρ)	
	Σεμθεῦς *Ωρου	
	κεραμ(έων) κδ λ(ασ)γρ. κδ = (γίν.)	μδ =
	Ἀπολλῶς *Ωρο[υ]	κδ =
	Πυργῶ(τος) ἀργυρ[ικῶν]	
190	Οὐαφρῆς Π[αρμενίου](υ)	κδ =
	(γίν.) ἀργυρικ[]	

3 seq. ἀν[δ]ραῖς καὶ δυο[β]βρόχοις? But if so, the relevance of this to the text which follows is not apparent.

5 seq. ἀπὸ / [τοῦ . . . ἔτους]

8 The sign after the lacuna may be either (ἔτους) or one of the signs of abbreviation used in this text.

8-33 record payments of τιμὴ πυροῦ; 19 is probably a total.

14 Evidently as 31, 128; the figure being the same for this man in all three cases. Some of the names in 126-32 may be conjectured in col. 1 where the sums are the same; they are not so, however, in the case of Heraclas son of Apollon who in 32 pays 88 dr. 3 ob., but in 131, 92 dr. 3 ob.

The lists of τιμὴ πυροῦ evidently lump together names from all the villages separately listed for the ἀργυρικά, since Harpaesis son of Cephalas in 129 is stated in the poll tax list (170) to be from Pyrgo(tos), whereas Panetbeuis son of Patheikos (130) is from Mouchis (118).

32 μολιβ(ουργός): for variant spellings, see *Wb.* i, II. Band, 113 seq.

34 seqq. The lists of payments of ἀργυρικά from the respective villages naturally repeat many of the same names from year to year. In some cases not only the name of the taxpayer's father, but further details are given—the name of the grandfather of the taxpayer, or his occupation.

57 ἐπ' ἴσης: the expression here is obscure.

62 This is the only case in which the name of a taxpayers's father, if identical with the son's, is written in full. Elsewhere we find in place of it a dash, representing ὁμοίως; with which compare the sign used in BGU 91. In 183, below, where the same man is mentioned, his father's name is replaced by the dash.

78 ἀρχω(): ἀρχω(υ) seems most unlikely.

86 Similar notes about deceased persons in P. Princeton 8, iv 12; *ibid.* 9, iv 2; 10.

120 κηρ(): κηρ(υξ), or some trade connected with κηρός, 'wax'?

124 The sum of the preceding entries seems to be 1,815 dr. 4 ob.

126 Not Σεμβοναεύς (= -έως).

127 The same name below, 132.

133 The sum of the above entries is actually 215 dr. 1 ob.

152 τρε. ο(): perhaps another name; but, if so, from its form it should be feminine.

171 The total is actually 757 dr. 2 ob.

183 See 62, above.

2413. ACCOUNT OF TAX ARREARS

34 × 36 cm.

Probably after A.D. 140.

A list of arrears in money payments; two columns, which are fairly well preserved, contain entries in retrospective order from the second year of an unspecified emperor, evidently Antoninus Pius, to the fifteenth of his predecessor Hadrian; headings (21; 36) indicate past Prefects of Egypt to whose periods of office the years belonged. Most of the document is in a practised but ugly backward-sloping hand, variable in size; two entries in a second, more cursive and sloping hand evidently represent certifications by an official, but these have proved partly illegible. The end of an entry in this second hand is all that remains of a preceding column (i) on the left; it reads] προσκίθ(αι?), and below this, the entry having been too long to finish in one line, . . . ἕως Ἀδρ[ι]ανου(ῶ)ς (ἔτους). The remains of checking strokes to the right of the top of col. iii show that a fourth column followed it; since none are visible lower down, column iv was evidently short and ended the document. The chief value of the text lies in its mention of the prefect Baienus Blastianus. This man will almost certainly be identical with the unplaced prefect . . . Bla. . . cited by Stein in *Die Präfekten von Ägypten*, p. 161 (cf. pp. 167, 181, 183 seq.) from *CIL* xiv 5431, and said by him to be 'certainly not later than the middle of the second century, probably of the reign of Trajan'. He may now be assigned his exact place in the series from the following considerations: the four successive entries here which mention him plainly imply that he came after Flavius Titianus, whose name occurs also in the heading in 36. On the latter, see Stein,

op. cit., pp. 65 seqq., 192; his known dates are 20/3/126-27/3/133.¹ Appears existing in the prefecture of Titianus are spoken of as lasting into the prefecture of Baienus, either reduced by subsequent exactions (6 seqq., 15 seqq.) or unreduced (25 seqq., 31 seqq.). The writer's language suggests that Baienus was Titianus' immediate successor; which was no doubt the case. His tenure of office must have been very short, since Petronius Mamertinus, whom Stein not unnaturally assumes to have followed Titianus immediately (see op. cit., p. 192) is first met with in a document dated in the same year, 28/8/133. This accounts for the fact that no other papyrus document mentions Baienus. He has no heading in the present memorandum, since it contains no entry under year 17 of Hadrian, within which his brief prefecture fell.

Written along the fibres. On the verso, written across the fibres, a very fragmentary report of judicial proceedings, dated A.D. 184.

ii

β (ἔτους) ὁμοίως
 ἔδηλώθη λοιπογράφ(αφείσθαι) εἰς μῆνα Τῦβι τοῦ
 δ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-
 νουστος χρόνου]ς
 5 / 5 διοικ(ήσει?) [καταλείπεται?] (δρ.) γ'ρλη ρ'ο χ. γ

ἐξ ὧν [ἐδηλώθη] εἰσπέ[ρα]χθαι
 διὰ λόγου ἰβμή(νου) εἰ[ως] Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) ζ (ἔτους) [(δρ.)] ψς ρ'ο χ. γ
 (2nd h.) αἰ ἐ[πι]τῆς ε..() συμφω(ν) [ε..]θ() πρόσκεισθ(αι) ἔως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ)
 5 (ἔτους)

καταλεί(πεται) εἰς μῆ[να] Μ[εσορῆ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζ [(ἔτους)]
 10 / εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου Βλαστ(ιανοῦ) τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-
 σαντος χρόνου]ς (δρ.) β'τμζ ρ.

α (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ἐδηλώθη λοιπογραφείσθαι
 εἰς μῆνα Τῦβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ
 τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρόνου]ς (δρ.) β'τκγ - χ.

15 / ἐξ ὧν ἐδηλώθη(η) εἰσπέπραχθαι
 διὰ λόγου ἰβμή(νου) ἔως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) ζ (ἔτους) (δρ.) ρλγ ρ'ο χ.
 (2nd h.) αἰ ἐπὶ τῆς ε..() συμφω(ν) ε..θ() πρόσκεισθ(αι) ἔως Ἀδρι(ανοῦ)
 5 (ἔτους)

¹ Another identically named, whose dates are Aug. 164-24/6/167, see Stein, op. cit., p. 192, is impossible in the present context.

καταλεί(πεται) εἰς μῆνα Μεσορῆ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου
 Βλαστ(ιανοῦ) τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος χρόνου]ς
 20 (δρ.) β'ρπθ = χ. γ

iii

Πετρ[ωνίου] Μαμερτείου χρόνων
 κα (ἔτους) Α[δ]ρι(ανοῦ)
 // [ἐδηλώθη] λοιπογράφ(αφείσθαι) εἰς μῆνα Τῦβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους)
 [εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-
 25 / σ[αντος] χρόνου]ς αἰ καὶ λοιπογράφ(αφείσθαι) εἰς μῆνα
 Μ[εσορῆ] τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου Βλαστ(ιανοῦ)
 [τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος] χρόνου]ς καταλεί(πεται) (δρ.) τκδ ρ'ο χ. γ.

κ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως
 30 / ἐ[δηλώθη] λοιπογράφ(αφείσθαι) εἰς μῆνα Τῦβι τοῦ δ (ἔτους)
 [εἰς τοὺς Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος
 [χρόνου]ς αἰ καὶ] εἰς μῆνα Μεσορῆ] τ[ο]ῦ ζ [(ἔτους)] λοιπογράφ(αφείσθαι)
 [εἰς τοὺς Βαιήνου] Βλαστ(ιανοῦ) τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος
 χρόνου]ς καταλεί(πεται) (δρ.) ρλ ρ'ο χ.ο.
 // 5 ιθ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) καταλεί(πεται) (δρ.) λβ
 // 35 / 5 ιη (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) καταλεί(πεται) (δρ.) [.]μη
 // Φλαυίου Τιτιανοῦ χρόνων
 // 5 ις (ἔτους) ὁμοίως διοικ(ήσει?) καταλεί(πεται) (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ἐψςθ = χ. α
 // 5 ιε (ἔτους) ὁμοίως ὡσ(αύτως?) διοικ(ήσει?) καταλεί(πεται) (δρ.) φλα - ρ'

ii A heading Μουδίου 'Ηλιοδώρου χρόνων no doubt preceded the last entry in the preceding column.

3 The second εἰς here and elsewhere below may be taken to mean '(and further extending) into'.

5 Here and 34 seqq. below, what seems to be the figure 5; has this any connexion with the 'sixth year of Hadrian' mentioned in the entries by the second hand?

8 The cursiveness of the writing and the abbreviations make these entries obscure. They presumably certified that the other writer's statements had been checked by reference to official documents as far back as Hadrian's year 6, the year before that mentioned in most of the entries. The last entry in col. iv may have cited year 7 of Hadrian.

11 The calculation—the sum mentioned in l. 5 minus that in l. 7—is correct; so, apparently, is that in the next entry (l. 20).

21 For Petronius Mamertinus, see Stein, op. cit., pp. 68 seqq.

2414. ACCOUNT OF TAXATION

39 × 32 cm. Late second to early third century.

On the verso of 2411. Remains of three columns in a literary hand; of col. i only the ends of some lines remain. The last lines of col. iii, which give the total of the preceding entries, evidently end the account. The large sums involved suggest that the document comes from the office of a high official. A somewhat similar text is the Mendesian tax account P. Ryl. ii 213 (late 2nd cent.), from Thmuis. On the term *διοίκησις* in that text, see Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 332. The sense in which the term is used here will be comparable with the narrower, rather than the wider of its applications in the Rylands text, since it here excludes *λαογραφία* and *χωματικόν* (ii 7 seq.; iii 8 seq.). It is unfortunate that the details of the subdivision of this department specified at the top of col. ii here are too mutilated to be read. It also excludes *φόρος προσοδικῶν* (*ἐδαφῶν*) (ii 6; iii 7), on which see Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 383, with the references cited by him in the latter place. The lists of *εἰδῆ* (cf. Wallace, p. 332), besides mentioning well-known taxes such as *ὄθονηρά* (ii 11; iii 16), *ὕκη* (ii 14; iii 14; Wallace, pp. 143 seqq.), (*ἐξάδραχμία*) *ὄνων* (ii 15; iii 13; Wallace, pp. 90 seqq.), *ἐνόμιον* (ii 16; iii 15; Wallace, pp. 86 seqq.), *χειρωναξίον γερδίων* (ii 17), have informative references to some less well known: in ii 13 *τοκαδείας χ[...]* and *ὄρνειθ(ων)*, *χ[τηνῶν]* is probable (cf. PSI 961, *passim*, where *τοκάδες* are geese), but *χ[οίρων]* might be restored; cf. Wallace, p. 93; for *πελωχικόν* (ii 22) see Wallace, pp. 222, 467; with this and the other taxes mentioned in ii 19 seqq., cf. P. Lond. 856, 16 seqq. (1st cent., probably from the Delta, see Wallace, pp. 270 seq.): *... ἀγορανομίας ὀνίων και πελωχικοῦ* (?; so the editors of P. Ryl. ii 167, 20, note, and Bell, for ed. pr. *πυλωμικοῦ*) και *μνημονεῖον και τῶν ἀλ[λω]ν εἰδῶν* και *γραφείου ὄρμου μητ[ρο]πόλεως*.

ii

[]
[	ξίμων (δρ.) υκε []
[...]	τοῖς ἐπιμε[...]	() [... ἐπι]μελητῶν και
[...]	ἀλλων	(δρ.) ἀχς = . /
5	[γίν.] διοικήσεως	(τάλ.) ε (δρ.) βυει - ὅ χ. α'
	φόρον προσοδικῶν ἐδαφῶν	(δρ.) χθ f' /
	λαογραφίας	(τάλ.) ις (δρ.) ὄσμε /
	χωματικοῦ	(τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ψμς = $\frac{2}{3}$ /
	ἱερατικῶν	(τάλ.) ις (δρ.) ἐφ[...] = χ. γ'
10	εἰδῶν	
	ὄθονηρᾶς	(τάλ.) α (δρ.) ἀωδ f' /

2414. ACCOUNT OF TAXATION

175

	τέλους συναλλαγματογρ(αφίας)	(δρ.) υζι .. χ. /
	τοκαδείας χ[τηνῶν] και ὄρνειθ(ων)	(δρ.) .φ. η. . /
	ὕκη	(δρ.) β[...]. ὅ /
15	ς(δρ.) ὄνων	(δρ.) ἄλ[]
	ἐνομίου και ἄλλων	(δρ.) β. . α /
	χειρωναξίον γερδίων	(τάλ.) γ (δρ.) ἄνκδ f []
	[χ]ειροτέχνων	(δρ.) βρο f
	μνημονεῖον και γρ(αφείου)	(δρ.) ὄχ. . []
20	... οφυλακίας	(δρ.) ἄχρδ. []
	ἀρχ... τίας και ἀγορ(ανομίας)	(τάλ.) β[...]. []
	πελ[ω]χι[κο]ῦ	(τάλ.) ...
	[... κλ]ηρ[ούχων?] μαχίμων	(δρ.) []
	(γίν.) εἰδῶν	(τάλ.) εβ (δρ.) []

3 After second lacuna, trace of the abbreviation sign used throughout this text as elsewhere except ii 24, iii 17, where it is \leftarrow 9 ἱερατικῶν

5 γίν. =

iii

	κ(δρ.) και μ(δρ.) πι χου. [...]	(δρ.) . []
	ἀριθμητικοῦ κατο[ίκων]	(τάλ.) ε (δρ.) δ[]
	γεωμετρίας	(τάλ.) ιγ (δρ.) ἐφ[]
	γίν. τοῦ λόγου	(τάλ.) ρλδ (δρ.) οε[]
5	και διὰ λόγου ἐμήνου ἕως Παχῶν κ. []
	διοικήσεως	(τάλ.) σ (δρ.) ε[]
	φόρ[ο]ν προσοδικῶν	[]
	λα[ο]γραφίας	(δρ.) ἀφ[]
	χ[ω]ματικοῦ	(τάλ.) δ (δρ.) ἀπξζ[]
10	ἱ[ε]ρατικῶν	(τάλ.) ιη (δρ.) δωστ[]
	εἰδῶν	
	τέλους συναλλαγματογρ(αφίας)	(δρ.) σ. []
	ς(δρ.) ὄνων	(δρ.) ε
	[ύ]κῆς	(δρ.) κβ
15	ἐνομίου	(δρ.) (blank) . []
	ὄθονηρᾶς	(δρ.) ρκ[]
	(γίν.) εἰδῶν	(δρ.) []
	κ(δρ.) και μ(δρ.)	(τάλ.) γ (δρ.) β[]

	ἀριθμητικοῦ κατοίκων	(δρ.) . . []
20	[γ]εωμετρίας	(τάλ.) ες []
	γίν. τοῦ λόγου	(τάλ.) ξ (δρ.) γν []
	γίν. τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρποκρατίων[ος εἰσπε-]	
	πραγμένων	(τάλ.) ρσδ (δρ.) []

7 This entry was perhaps subsequently added; the amount may have been added on the right, since there was no space for it between the lines 22 l. τοῦ

ii 3 seq. [ἐν?] τοῖς ἐπιμετρίοις τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ / [ἀ]λλων?

23 For the μάχιμοι, see P. Ryl. 202, 5, and note *ad loc.*; cf. P. Princeton 38, 6, and note.

iii 1 π. χοι. [is puzzling; there is a space, but no mark of abbreviation, after π. Neither a personal name nor a place-name was to be expected here.

22 seq. A Harpocration was royal scribe and acting strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome c. 186 (see Henne, *Liste des Stratèges*, p. 30), and an Aurelius H. was strategus there in 219/21 (op. cit., p. 31); but there is nothing to indicate the office of the Harpocration mentioned here, or to prove the special connexion of this document with that nome.

2415. ACCOUNT OF CORN FREIGHTS

47.5 × 23.3 cm.

Late third century.

This text is similar in import to 1048, which is, however, considerably later (late fourth or early fifth century). It is a list of vessels, stating under whom each is sailing (ὑπό with accusative; cf. P. Rend. Hart. 94, *passim*), with a total in artabas at the end of each entry. The kind of vessel is often specified; in the case of the bigger ones the estimated capacity is given; it is always considerably exceeded by the second figure, which is evidently the amount actually carried; the vessels were presumably loaded down to the water-line. In some cases the ensign (παρ(άσημον)) of the boat is specified. The document is probably a list of vessels which will depart from the harbour of Oxyrhynchus after their cargo has been checked by inspectors. For the transport of corn, see Rostovtzeff, *Archiv* iii 201 seqq.; Wilcken, *Grdz.*, pp. 378 seq.; Hohlwein, *Ét. de Pap.* iv 110 seqq.; Börner, *Der staatl. Korntransport im gr.-röm. Ägypten*, Diss. Hamburg, 1939; O. M. Pearl in *TAPA* lxxxiii 74 seqq. The departures are not dated; they must extend over some time, since two of the boats and their captains occur twice (see 31 seq., 60 seq.; 33 seq., 76). On the verso is 2425.

	i
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) γρ, φ̄ παρ(άσημον)
[	](ἀρτ.) γνυ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) . . . φ̄ παρ(άσημον)
[	(ἀρτ.) δ̄ρσθ (ἡμ.).
5 [	ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου

2415. ACCOUNT OF CORN FREIGHTS

177

[	](ἀρτ.) ἀκ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) γφ, φ̄ παρ(άσημον)
[	](ἀρτ.) γνω
[	ἀπὸ τοῦ Κ]υνοπολ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.) φπε (ἡμ.).
10 [	]κλ. . . (ἀρτ.) φιε
[	]του (ἀρτ.) ἀφκβ
[	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) γρ, παρ(άσημον)
[	](ἀρτ.) γνυ

Another 8 lines at the bottom of this column lost; the last word in l. 21 will have been παρ(άσημον)

	ii
[	Διόσκο]υροι (ἀρτ.) υλβ
[	ἄλλο ὑπ̄] θεοκλήν καὶ Ἑρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑψηλίτου
	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) γρ, παρ(άσημον) Ἀμμων (ἀρτ.) γνγ
25 [	ὑπὸ Σιλ]βανὸν Βησαῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λυκοπολ(ίτου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) β̄χ, φ̄ παρ(άσημον)
	Ἀπόλλων (ἀρτ.) β̄ωξ
	ὑπὸ Ἀμμώνιον καὶ Ἑρακ(λ)ᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεγάλου
	Χαρμίου ἀγ(ωγῆς) β̄ψ, παρ(άσημον) Ἑρμῆς (ἀρτ.) γα
	ὑπ̄] . . . ὡν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολ(ίτου)
30 [	ἀγ(ωγῆς)] (ἀρτ.) γτ, φ̄ παρ(άσημον) Διόνυσος (ἀρτ.) γ̄χλ
	χορτηγὸν ὑπὸ Παρίονα Σερήνου ἀπὸ τοῦ
	Ὀξυρυγχίτου ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀκβ
	π[λοῖ(ον)] δημόσιον ὑπὸ Σύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετη-
	λείτου ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἄω, παρ(άσημον) Ἀμμων (ἀρτ.) ἄλρη
35 [	ὑπὸ Παῆσω Ἀτρήτος ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου (ἀρτ.) ἀφ
	ὑπὸ Απόλλωνα καὶ Παρίονα ἀπὸ τοῦ
	Λυκοπολί(του) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἄν, παρ(άσημον) Πύθιος (ἀρτ.) ἀφνς
	ἄ[λλο] ὑπ̄] Ἀρποκρατίωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεοντοπολ(ίτου),
	παρ(άσημον) Χρησμ[δ]ς ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) β̄σ (ἀρτ.) β̄νμξ
40 [	πλοῖ(ον) δ[η]μ(όσιον) ὑπὸ Πύθωνα Δωροθέου ἀπὸ τοῦ
	Λυκοπολ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.) ἀφν, παρ(άσημον) Πύθιος (ἀρτ.) ἀψηε
	ὑπὸ Κολλοῦθον ἀπὸ τοῦ Προσωπίτου

	iii
	ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ὡν, παρ(άσημον) Π[δ]ντος (ἀρτ.) λ̄με
	πλοῖ(ον) ζευγματικὸν ὑπὸ Ἀγαθὸς (sic) Δαίμονα Πατιήσιος

- 45 από τῆς Ἐλεαρχία[ς]] (ἀρτ.) φε
 πολύκωπον ὑπὸ Νεμ[ε]σιανὸν Διονυσίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Ἑρακλεοπολίτου] (ἀρτ.) φε
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἰέρακα Σιλ[λ]βανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπολλωνοπολ(ίτου)
 ναυκ(λήρου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀρ, παρ(άσημον) Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἀπόλλων
 (ἀρτ.) ἀρι.
- 50 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Δίδυμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινόης χορηγόν
 (ἀρτ.) ἀιε
 πολύκ(ωπον) ὑπὸ Πεκδσιν Διον(υσίου?) ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀρ
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Θώνιον Ἀγαθοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 55 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀρλζ
 ζευγματικὸν ὑπὸ Βελλῆ Κορινθίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Φθενότου (ἀρτ.) υβ
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κορη Πάρεως ἀπὸ τοῦ Διοσπολ(ίτου)
 Κάτω (ἀρτ.) φβ
- 60 χορηγόν ὑπὸ Παρίον[α] Σερήνου ἀπὸ το[ῦ]
 Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ ὄλαμ (ἀρτ.) ἀις
 ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον[α] Ἀμβρόσιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀ (ἀρτ.) ἀις
 ὑπὸ Εὐφράντιον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλεαρχίας (ἀρτ.) φ
 65 ὑπὸ Παχὸ Κρονίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλεαρχ(ίας) (ἀρτ.) χ
 44 l. Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα; and probably Πεπίσιος

iv

- [...]ντι μέρος δημοσίου ὑπὸ]
 [ἀπὸ τοῦ] Προσωπίτου] (ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ἰσιδωρον Θεοδώρου [ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ὀργιάφωρον Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπὸ [] (ἀρτ.)]
 70 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κόμουνα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄνω [] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἀμβρόσιον Θεώνος [ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 [ἄλλο] ὑπὸ Ἰσιδωρον Σφύζοντος ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κρόγιον Ἀρίστωνος [ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Δωρόθεον Γεμέλλου ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 75 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἰσιδω[ρ]ον Κολλούθου [ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]

- ἄλλο ὑπὸ Σύρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μετηλε(ίτου) (ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Διογένην Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ [] (ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Πετοβάστριν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλεαρχίας (ἀρτ.)]
 ὑπὸ Παυῆ Ἀνικήτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.)]
 80 ὑπὸ Δωρόθεον καὶ Πύθωνα [ἀπὸ] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Κρονίωνα ἀπὸ Ἑρμο[πολ(ίτου)]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) β, παρ(άσημον) Ἰσάριν [] (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Οὐλπιον Ἀπολλώνιον [.].[ἀπὸ]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀρν, παρ(άσημον) Ἄμμων [] (ἀρτ.)]
 85 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Σαλούστιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Νελ[ο]πολ(ίτου) (ἀρτ.)]
 ἄλλο ὑπὸ Ἄνουβίωνα Σιλβανοῦ ἀπὸ]
 ἀγ(ωγῆς) (ἀρτ.) ἀφν, παρ(άσημον) Ἰσάριν [] (ἀρτ.)]

1 παρ(άσημον): for examples of the word, see *WB.*, and Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary of the New Testament*, s.v. The list in the article by M. Metzger, *Aegyptus* x (1929), p. 148 can now be supplemented. Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the third century containing similar descriptions of Nile boats is PSI 1048. See also the text published by Guéraud in *JJP* iv 107 seqq.; there the word is ἐπίσημον. With φ, cf. *SB.* 423, 5.

22 Διόσκο[υ]ροι: cf. Act. Apost. xxviii 11: μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοῖω παρακεχαιμακῶτι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρίνῳ, παρατήμῳ Διοσκουροῖς.

27 seq. τοῦ Μεγάλου Χωρίου: doubtful; a place so named occurs in several papyri in Part XVI; see Index to latter.

31 χορηγόν: cf. πλοῖα, P. Cairo Zen. 191, 7. The same vessel and captain occur below, 60 seq.

33 The same again below, 76.

39 Χρησμός: no doubt personified as a deity.

41 Before the first figure, ἀγ(ωγῆς) omitted.

43 Π[ό]τος, as a deity.

44 ζευγματικόν: perhaps a towed vessel. The word occurs as the name of an impost, 2129, 4, etc.; P. Lond. 1157, 6 (both 3rd cent.).¹

45 τῆς Ἐλεαρχίας: so several times below; see P. Ryl. 616, a 9 (A.D. 312), and editors' note on l. 10 there.

49 ναυκ(λήρου): here the owner is personally in charge of the vessel; in other cases it is no doubt a κυβερνήτης.

57 Φθενότου: for this nome, see Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte*, pp. 148 seq.; id. *Dict. Géogr.*, Greek index; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* ii 193*. It is spelt Φθενου in P. Ryl. 616 a ii 18.

61 ὄλαμ: reading and significance uncertain.

66 [...]ντι μέρος κτλ.: can this indicate that only part of the vessel's cargo is corn?

¹ See Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, p. 280.

2416. NOTE ABOUT AN INHERITANCE

29.5 × 38 cm.

Sixth to seventh century.

Recto written across the fibres; address on the verso along them. Papyrus of fair quality. Probably complete, in spite of the absence of any epistolary formulae at the end; there are no formalities elsewhere in the text. The addressee is probably identical with the count Σχολαστικ() mentioned in 1912, 149 (dated by the editors late sixth century); if so, the expansion there should be emended. The writer of P. Ross.-Georg. iii 12 (sixth century; provenance unknown) bears the same name. The writer explains his administration of the division of some moneys left by his sister among her three daughters. To avoid disputes among the interested parties he has framed two separate *mandata*, the details of which are to be withheld from his family.

- + Τὸ σχιδάριον τῆς ὀφειλοῦσης γε[νέσθαι διαλύσεως μεταξὺ] τῶν τριῶν κορασιῶν τῶν ἀναμνῶν ἐπι[. . .] . . . [. . .] ποιῆσαι
 'τὰς διαλύσεις' ὅτε καιρὸς γένηται τοῦ δοθῆναι ἐκ[άστ]ῃ ἃ [ὀφέ]λλει λαβεῖν· καὶ ἡ μὲν
 τῆς μείζονος διάλυσις γίνεται ὅτι ἔλαβεν κατὰ προσθήκην 'πρόσοδον' νο(μ.) ρκ,
 5 ἡ δὲ τῆς μέσης ὅτι κατὰ προσθήκην ἔλα[β]εν νο(μ.) ρ ὀμ(οίως)· ἡ δὲ τῆς μικροτέρας
 οὐδέν· τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τὸ περὶ τῶν νο(μ.) ρ τῶν εἰς εὐσε[β]εῖς χρεῖας
 'καταλειφθέντων παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας μου ἀδελφῆς' εἰς μόνην τὴν θ[ε]ο[φ]αν[η]σιν
 Πατρικίας δηλονότι ἐπι[π]ρ[ε]σει. καὶ ἵνα ἴσῃτε
 ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐκκρούηται, ἔγραψα· ἐποίησα δὲ καὶ μανδᾶτα δ[ύ]ο,
 ἐπιτρέπων δι' αὐτῶν δοθῆναι αὐταῖς τὰ πράγματα, ἐν μὲν μανδᾶ[τον] ?
 10 [ἐπι]τρέπων ταῖς δύο ταῖς μειζ[ο]τε[ρ]αῖς [αἰτῆ]σαι ἃ ὀφείλουσιν λαβεῖν
 μ[ε]τὰ τῆς προσθήκης τῆς προσόδου τ[ῆς] ὀφειλοῦσης ἐκάστη
 δοθῆναι, μηδὲ ἐπι[π]ρ[ε]σει δοθῆναι τῇ μικρο[τ]έρα ἃ ὀφείλει λαβεῖν
 [. . .] . . . ἐγὼ γὰρ [ποιῶν] ? τ[ῆ]ν προ[σ]θήκην δοθῆναι τ[αῖς]
 μειζοτέρας οὐ συνείδον τὸν υἱόν μου θ[ε]ο[φ]αν[η]σιν εἶδειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτ[ὸς]
 15 πρόφασιν σχῆ τοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ παρενοχλῆσαι ἡμῖν περὶ προσθ[ε]τικ[ῆς]
 ἀλλ' ἴδια ἐποίησα ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς μικροτέρας μόνης,
 ἐπιτρέπων αὐτῇ δοθῆναι τ[ὸ] προσήκον μέρος, μὴ μνησθεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ
 προσθήκ[ῆς], ἵνα μηδενὸς εἰδ[ό]της [ἡ] διάλυσις γένηται.

Verso

ἐπιδ(ος) τῷ κόμ(ετι) Σχολαστικῷ πα(ρὰ) τοῦ Κύρου.

1 l. σχειδάριον 2 l. ἀνεμῶν
 in l. 11, and no : adscript as there
 χ, or ψ

3 κ of ἐκ[άστ]ῃ (if so read) different from that in same word
 13 Second letter in the line might also be λ; fifth is ε, ρ, φ,

'(I am sending you?) the rough draft of the division which should be made between the three girls, (my) nieces, (with a view to?) making the distributions when the time comes for giving to each what she is entitled to receive. The share of the eldest consists in her having received 120 solidi on the claim that it was an additional sum ("income", above); that of the middle one in her having received 100 solidi on the claim that it was an additional sum similarly; that of the youngest, nothing; but the capital sum of 100 solidi left to pious uses by my late sister evidently falls to the share of Patricia alone (?). And that you may know this and that she may not be ousted from her claim, I have written (to you); and I have made two injunctions, directing thereby that the property be given to them; (by?) one injunction directing that the two elder may claim what they are entitled to receive with the addition of income which ought to be given to each, but not directing that the youngest be given what she is entitled to receive (in the same document?); for when causing (?) the additional sum to be given to the elder ones I did not at the same time (?) take my son into my confidence, that he might not have occasion to make claims and pester us about an additional sum; but I have made special provisions in the second (?) about the youngest alone, directing that the appropriate share be given to her, but making no mention in it of an additional sum, so that the division may take place without the knowledge of anyone.' (Address.)

1 σχιδάριον (= σχειδάριον): cf. P. Princeton 96, introd.

2 κορασιῶν: see P. Oslo 140, note on l. 1; here used of free girls.

Perhaps ἐπι[στέλλω] (or sim.) σοι πρὸς τῷ.

3 ἐκ[άστ]ῃ: somewhat doubtful; see textual note.

4 τῆς μείζονος: contrast μειζοτέρας in 10, 14.

προσόδον, added above, probably as an afterthought, a preferred synonym for προσθήκην, which has not, however, been deleted.

5 seq. ἡ δὲ . . . οὐδέν: a rather summary way of saying that she was not expressly left anything analogous to the bequests made to the others.

6 περὶ: perhaps cf. N.T. uses such as Act. A post. i 3: λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

7 Πατρικίας: perhaps the name of the youngest sister; the sudden introduction of it at this point, when none of the other parties has been named, is disconcerting; but the text is not a formal document, but a note to one who is expected to know the people concerned. Note that πατρικῆς (sc. οὐσίας) cannot be read.

ἴσῃτε: with ἵνα, imperative for subjunctive.

9 ἐν μὲν μανδᾶ[τον], governed by ἐποίησα in l. 8? If so, what follows is an anacolouthon. Or ἐν<ι> μὲν μανδᾶ[τον] ?

14 οὐ συνείδω . . . εἶδεν: 'I did not share my knowledge with', 'take into my confidence'.

μυστήρια, τὸ ἀληθές ⁶ [λέγω· συνε]γενάμην (l. -όμην) αὐτῷ ἀπερχομένῳ ἐν ἑσπεριναῖς ὥραις εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον Ἄμα Ἰουλιανῆς (Ἰουλιανῆς)· καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔλεγεν ⁷ []ου ταῦτα ποιοῦντος· ἦν δὲ βράδιον πάνυ ὅτε ἀπῆρχετο, καὶ προέπειμον αὐτὸν ἕως τῆς θύρας τοῦ ⁸ [μοναστηρίου ἀ]γεωγμένον, καὶ εἰσῆρχετο, καὶ ἐκλείετο ἡ θύρα ὑπὸ τῆς θυρουροῦ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπεχώρουν· ἐπεμψεν δὲ αὐτῷ ⁹ []επενουκε.ω διὰ []ννης τῆς πλυ(ν)τρίας πατελλίκιν (l. -κιον) ἀργύραιον (l. ἀργύρεον) κάτω εἰς τὴν θήκην αὐτοῦ, λέγουσα ὅτι· ¹⁰ [ἀρ]γυραῖφ[.] .ωσ πατελλ[ικι.] κεκλασμέ[ν.] καὶ ἐκείνο ἀπεδόθη τῷ ἀργυροκόπῳ, καὶ ἐποίησεν κοχλι- ¹¹ [άρια] .κ[c. 9 ll.] .[c. 8 ll.] . . . οιν[c. 4 ll.] οικ. . σ. την κ. (Rest lost.)

The following details may be noted: in l. 2 the title *ἐκκλησιαστικὸς* occurs for the first time in the papyri; the Church of *ἀγία Θέκλα* is mentioned in 1993, 20 (A.D. 587); in 5 *ἀγίου* is perhaps a mistake for *ἀγίας* (sc. *Θέκλας*), see 2, above; in 8, perhaps understand ' . . and we found (the convent, or some part of it) open'; in 9 the principal verb will have been in the lacuna, 'conveyed (or sim.) through Anna the washerwoman'; *πατελλίκα(ο)ν* in 10 confirms the separate existence of a variant of *πατελλίδιον*, cited by LSJ under the latter word.

2420. 39.3 × 32 cm. Deed of surety, from the Apion archive; dated 610. Justus, *chartularius*, becomes surety to two goldsmiths, Aurelius(?) Papnuthius and A.(?) Arothius. The remains of the last two lines of a protocol in perpendicular writing and in purplish-brown ink run at right angles to the deed on the left; though mostly illegible, as usual, they may add a little to our knowledge of this old problem, since the letters or signs which begin and end them are evidently the same as those in the corresponding places in the second and third lines of more degenerate perpendicular writing in the protocols of the Arab period. The first begins with what appears to be a letter, perhaps H, in a perfect circle, which makes doubtful the supposition that it was originally Δ(ΙΑ);¹ at the end, an upright stroke and the abbreviation sign †; the last line begins with ΤΩ, followed probably by Ν; at the end, ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΙΙΙΕ. No month-name can be distinguished before this.

The lacunae of the deed itself can mostly be supplied from similar Oxyrhynchite deeds, such as 135, 996, 1979, 2203; PSI 52, 59, 61, 62, 280; Merton 98; Lond. 778. L. 19 contains an unusual provision; the last word may be *παραστάσεως*. The subscription of Justus is restored on the analogy of 1892 (A.D. 581), ll. 38 seqq., a loan of money on security. On the verso, below the address, in a different hand and in different ink, mostly effaced and illegible remains of a text in shorthand.

¹ + Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Ἰησ.) Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, βασιλείας τοῦ ² θεοπάτορος καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότητος μ[ε]γίστου εὐερ-

¹ Cf. l. 3 in the protocol published in Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, (Brit. Mus. 1910), frontispiece, a more complete example in similar writing, beginning + Φλ(αουίου) Βί(κτοπος) . . .; the ω read in the last line here is found there also. On protocols in general, see Bataille, *Traité d'études byzantines*, ii: *Les Papyrus*, pp. 55 seq., and refs. given there.

γέτου Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνί-³ [ου αἰγούστου] καὶ αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους α Φαμεν(ῶθ) ἰνδ(ικτ.) ἰδ c. 30 ll.] ⁴ Φλαουίου Ἀπίων τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑ[πε]ρ-φυεστ[άτω] ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικῶν γεουχοῦντι ⁵ καὶ ἐταῖθα τῇ λαμπρ(οτάτῃ) Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλ(ει) διὰ Ρουφ[υίου μητρὸς] ⁶ ἀντιγεούχου παρόντος Μηνα οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντ[ος] καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ⁷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν [ἀγαγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν, Ἰουστός ὁ λαμπρ(οτάτος)] ⁸ χαρτουλάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) ὑμῶν ρίξου, νίξ[ος] τοῦ μ[ακ]αρίου Θεοδώρου ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων ⁹ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ὁμολογῶ ἐκρυσία γνώμη καὶ ἀθαυρ[έτω] προαιρέσει ¹⁰ ὑπομνύμενος τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβ[ά]σμιον ὄρκον ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχασθαι [παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν] ¹¹ ἐνδόξω (l. ἐνδόξου) ὑπεροχῆς Ἀβρηλ[ίου] Παπνούθιον υἱὸν Πα.νο.ιου .εφ. .ε. καὶ Ἀρώθ[ι]ον υἱὸν [. . .] ¹² ἀμφοτέροι χρυ[σο]χῶσι ὀρμώ[μενοι] (l. ἀμφοτέρους χρυσοχόους ὀρμωμένους) ἀπὸ κώμη[ς] Σερόφωτος τοῦ Ὁξυρυχιτῶν νομοῦ σα. . . [¹³ παρὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν [οἰ]κροῦ, ἐ]φ' ὅτε αὐτοὺς ἀδιαιρέτως παραμείναι καὶ διαίξαι ¹⁴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ καὶ μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπολειπᾶσθαι μήτε μὴν μεθίστασθαι ¹⁵ εἰς ἕτερον τόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζητοῦμε(ένους) αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐν οἰαδήποτε ἡμ[ε]ρ[α] οἰα[σ]- ¹⁶ ῥηποσῶν εἶ[ν]εκεν προφάσεως τούτους παραφέρειν καὶ παραδώσῃ [δ]ι[χ]α λ[ό]γο[υ] ¹⁷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς καὶ παρεῖληφα ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου· εἶ[ν] δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ¹⁸ π[ο]ιῆσω, ὁμολογῶ παρασχεῖν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐνδόξῳ ὑ[πε]ροχῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολλ[ε]ψ[ε]ως ¹⁹ χρυσίου [λ]ίτραν μίαν εἰσταθμ(ον) ζιγῶ Ἄλεξ(ανδρείας) καὶ . . . ν. [.] στασεως. ²⁰ κυρ(ία) ἡ εἰγγύη ἀπλή γραφ(είσα) καὶ ἐπερωτ(ηθεῖς) ὠμολόγη(σα). (2nd h.) Ἰούστ[ος] [δ] λαμπρ(οτάτος) χαρτ[ου]λ[ά]ρι[ος] πεποιήμαι ταύτην τὴν ἐγγύην ²¹ τῶν [προ]γε[γραμ]μ[έ]νων Παπνούθιο[ν] καὶ Αρωθ[ι]ο[ν] κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέραν ὁμολ(όγησιν) καὶ [συμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα τὰ ἐγγεγρ(αμμένα) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)]. ²² ✠ δι' ἐπι Ιοανν[ι]ου ἐτελιόθη + Verso: ²³ + ἐγγ(ύη) Ἰουστου τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) χαρτ[ου]λ[ά]ρι[ου] υἱοῦ τοῦ μακαρ(ίου) Θεοδώρου ²⁴ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυχι(τῶν) πόλ(εως) ἀναδεχ(ομένου) Παπνούθιον καὶ Αρωθ[ι]ον ἀπὸ κώμη(ς) ²⁵ Σερόφωτος τ[ῶ]ν Ὁξυρυχιτῶν νομοῦ.]

2421. Verso of 2422; written across the fibres. Early fourth century. Account probably, according to Skeat, of payments in kind—wheat (*σίτος*, cf. P. Tebt. 404 (third century)) and barley—in three columns; ends of lines of the third lost. The names are followed generally by amounts in wheat and barley, and these in each case by a sum evidently representing the price of the latter. Xenicus son of Troilus in 12 is identical with the Xenicus of 1413 (A.D. 270/5), whose father's name is seen from 1496 (273/4 or 279/80) to be Troilus. Several other names in our list are also found in 1413, 1496, and the related texts 1414 (270/5) and 1497 (c. 279): Philosphus, Agathos Daimon, Secundus, Horion, Besarion; the Septimia Serena of 69 is perhaps

related to the Septimius Serenus also called Ischyron, exegete, of 1413. These four documents, however, evidently belong to a generation earlier than the present text, the date of which is indicated by the prices of wheat and barley, c. 984 and c. 656 denarii per artaba respectively—the latter being two-thirds of the former—which show that the enormous inflation of prices known to have taken place in the early years of the fourth century (see Johnson, *Egypt and the Roman Empire*, p. 58) is already well advanced.

i

¹ Πτολεμαῖς θυγάτηρ Εὐδ[α]ίμονος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) λαβ. ² κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀσάμωνος ἀλιεύς (l. ἀλιεύς) σίτ(ου) [(ἀρτ.) αδ'] (δην.) ἄρν. ³ Πηνήφης Διοδώρου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) γέ (τάλ.) α (δην.) φν. ⁴ Μαξιμάς Τίμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' γ' κδ̄ (δην.) φοβ ⁵ Ὀνής στεφανοπλόκος σίτ(ου) (σίτ) (δην.) σμγ κριθ(ῆς) (τάλ.) γ (δην.) χλγ. ⁶ Παωνίτης Πολυδεύκου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) μα κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) βιβ̄ (δην.) ἀτζε. ⁷ Σιλβανός κηρωματικός σίτου (ἀρτ.) [] (δην.) ἀτν. ⁸ Ἄποῦς γυνή Αγίωνος προσημαρίον (l. πορθημαρίου) σίτ(ου) γ' ιβ̄ (δην.) υθ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) β (δην.) ἀτι. ⁹ Σοφία Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμωνος (l. -μονος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) αδ' κδ̄ (δην.) ων. ¹⁰ Ὁρος ἀναγνωστής κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ¹¹ Σαραπίων ἰατρός κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) ψξε. ¹² Ξ[ε]μκός Τρόλιου (l. Τρωίλου) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' γ' (δην.) ἄσ. ¹³ [Θε]ρμούτιον καὶ Σύρα καὶ Μάζα[ς?] σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) το κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' γ' (δην.) ἄσ. ¹⁴ Θαῆσις γυνή Ἀφυγχίου Πιεβᾶτ[ο]ς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ' (δην.) ρξδ. ¹⁵ Αγία Ἄγαθοῦ Δαίμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α ιβ̄ (δην.) ψι. ¹⁶ Θα(υ)βάριον Σαραπάμωνος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σν. ¹⁷ κλη(ρονόμοι) Νίκωνος ἱερέυς (l. ἱερέως) ¹⁸ [.]μ[.]ονιον θυγάτηρ Ἡράμμωνος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' ιβ̄ (δην.) υ[ι] κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' ιβ̄ (δην.) τπβ. ¹⁹ κλη(ρονόμοι) Δί[ο]υ Κωμαστοῦ σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ζ' (δην.) υσα κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α ιβ̄ (δην.) ψι. ²⁰ [.]μ[.]υ[.]θ[υ]γατήρ Μέλανος Θήβειος (l. Θήβειος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' (δην.) τκη. ²¹ [.....]λεὺς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ι' β' (δην.) νε. ²² [.....]υ ἱερεὺς ²³ [.....]τος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) λαπν. ²⁴ [.....] [] Κυρῶλου γυνή Πεκαῦ σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ας' κδ̄ (τάλ.) α ιδ̄ (σίτ) κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) []

ii

²⁵ Εἰρήνη Πανσιρίωνος ²⁶ Ἡρακλᾶς πραγματευτῆς Θεωνίλλης σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γῆ (τάλ.) β (δην.) ο. ²⁷ Ἐκαπλᾶς Σεουήρου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ε' κδ̄ (δην.) σς κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ε' κδ̄ (δην.) ρμ. ²⁸ Ἀρθώνιος δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλωνίας σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ζ' ῆ (δην.) χ[ι]δ̄ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ῆ (δην.) πβ. ²⁹ Ἀμουῖας Πατερμουτίου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) αγ' (δην.) ωνε. ³⁰ Διόδωρος Σαραποδώρου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ῆ (δην.) ρκε κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ³¹ Τερεῦς ἀλέτισσα ³² Διδυμος Διοσκόρου φλουμάρης σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ι' β' (δην.) πβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς)

(ἀρτ.) αε[λ] (δην.) ἀρμζ. ³³ Δημητρία Κάστορος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α (δην.) χρ[ς]. ³⁴ Εὐπορίων λγρόνφοσ κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ακδ̄ (δην.) χπβ. ³⁵ κλη(ρονόμοι) Σεουήρου ο[ι]κρδόμενος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ' κ' δ' (δην.) τρ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ε' (δην.) ρι. ³⁶ Διδύμη 'θυγάτηρ' Καλλιστράτου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ε' κδ̄ (δην.) ρμ. ³⁷ Πτολεμαῖος ἱερεὺς Ἐρμού κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' κδ̄ (δην.) τνε. ³⁸ Θάις Νικάνορος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) βκδ̄ (δην.) ἀτμ. ³⁹ Σαρμάτης Ὠρίωνος δι(ὰ) Γούνθου κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' (δην.) τ[.]η. ⁴⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι) Σώτου Φιλοσόφου σίτ(ου) θς' (τάλ.) ε' (δην.) τκθ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ (τάλ.) α (δην.) ἀρκ. ⁴¹ Θεωνίους Ἀρχυβίου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) κδ̄ (δην.) μα κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) δ' (δην.) ρξδ. ⁴² Σίφαρος 'καὶ' Πατερμουτίου (l. -τιος) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ε' (δην.) ρι. ⁴³ Διονύσιος πραγματευτῆς Ἰρήνης (l. Εἰρήνης) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ζ' γ' ῆ (δην.) λαμβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σν. ⁴⁴ Τααμός Θεώνος κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ας' (δην.) ψξδ. ⁴⁵ κλη(ρονόμοι) Θωνία (l. -νίου) Νικάνορος ἱερέυς (l. ἱερέως) ⁴⁶ Πτολεμαῖς καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς ⁴⁷ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀφροδί() βάφισσα (l. -σσης) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ας' κδ̄ (δην.) ἀρζ [κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' (δην.) τκη. ⁴⁸ Σαραπίων γραμματοδιδάσκαλος σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ιβ̄ (δην.) πβ κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) α (δην.) τνε. ⁴⁹ Ἀντίνοος Διδύμου λαχανᾶς κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ζ' γ' κδ̄ (δην.) σ]σε.

iii

⁵⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι) Δημητρίου Ἀρχελαίου κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) [] ⁵¹ Ἀπολλώνιος Σεκούτου (l. -δου) κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) [(ἀρτ.) ⁵² Πατερμουτίς [[Πα]ονσιού κριθ(ῆς) [(ἀρτ.) ⁵³ δι(ὰ) Δωροθέου υἱοῦ Βησαρίωνος] ⁵⁴ Ὠρίων Διδύμου σίτου (ἀρτ.) ζ' [] ⁵⁵ Ἄλλοῦς θυγά(τηρ) Δημητρίου κεραμέυς (l. -μέυς) [⁵⁶ Θεοδώρα γυνή) Ἀμωνίου πραγμ(ατευτοῦ) Φιλ. [⁵⁷ [Α]πολινάριον Σαραπάμμωνος [⁵⁸ Φιλοσαρᾶπις Πατερμουτίου κρ(ι)θ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ⁵⁹ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀμοῖς (l. -ιτος) βαφέυς (l. -έως) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) [] ⁶⁰ Τ[α]εμμίας Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κεφαλ[] ⁶¹ . . ρις Θώνιος καὶ Δύσκορος Ν[] ⁶² Θεῶν ἐκδοχεύς ⁶³ Κομαπίλλα Θεῶνος γυνή) Ὀλυμπία ⁶⁴ Ἡραῖς Διογένους μητρὸς Διοσκόρ[] ⁶⁵ Σαραπίων Πέτρωνος [⁶⁶ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἐρμίνου ναυτικοῦ [⁶⁷ Παᾶπις Ἡράτος [⁶⁸ κλη(ρονόμοι) Πατερμουτίου διφθεραρίου [⁶⁹ Σεπτιμία Σερῆνα [⁷⁰ κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἀπολλωνίας Ἀμωναροῦτ[ρ]ς ⁷¹ Ἰσίδωρος ἐγγυὸς οἰκία Κορηλιά[ς] ⁷² κλη(ρονόμοι) Ἄνιου ἱατροῦ [⁷³ Ἡρακλίδης γαμβρός (l. -κλειδης γαμβρός) Ἀλεξάνδρου [⁷⁴ Σαραπίων Πατερμουτίου μάγειρος ⁷⁵ Ἀμυντιανὸς υἱὸς Γεμέλλου []

3 κδ̄ apparently omitted after ε'.

7 κηρωματικός: cf. 43, vs. iii 21 (3rd/4th cent.); PSI 805, 4 (4th cent.).

8 προσημαρίον: cf. PSI 1259, 4 (2nd/3rd cent.), spelt as here; sim., P. Ryl. 534, 4; see editors' note ad loc., and note on P. Mert. 42, 4, for this and other spellings of this and related words.

10 ἀναγνωστής: 'reader', of documents to the illiterate; so SB. 7338, i 15 (A.D. 300); P. Groning. 9, 25 (4th cent.).

13 *Máz*(s?): see 1069, a letter to a woman from her 'brother' Troilus. Hunt's reading of her name as *Máz* has been corrected by Crawford, introd. to P. Fouad Crawford, vi, another letter between the same two people, to *Μαζάτ(ε)* (dative).

26 *πραγματευτής*: see *JEA* xviii 16 seq.

31 *ἀλέτσια*: fem. of *ἀλέτης*; *add. lex.* Another fem. form *ἀλερπίς* in PSI 838, 8 (5th cent.).

32 *φλουμέρης*: a new form of *plumarius*.

48 *τνε*: read *χ* for *τ*.

49 *λαχανῆς*: see LSJ, s.v.; same word evidently in P. Bad. iv 95, xii 264 (7th cent.).

2422. 43 × 22 cm. A.D. 290. Account of beef and pork, no doubt as requisitions for military provisions, like 1545 and perhaps 1513 (both fourth century). See Boak, *Byzantion* xvii 27. The entries are arranged by villages, and the latter under the six Oxyrhynchite toparchies; a column containing most of the entries from the Upper toparchy has been lost from the beginning, together with any heading there may have been, which might have elucidated some details now obscure; for instance, the period covered by the exactions. The quantities, expressed in talents (Τ) and minae (μ, μ̄) are not round sums, which suggests that they are weights actually collected; the sum of the quantities from the individual villages is given at the end of each toparchy list and the document ends with grand totals; the sum of the quantities of beef from the six toparchies is said to be ἀντί, 'instead of' (= equivalent to) two-thirds of that weight of pork.¹ The result of this conversion is added to the amount of pork actually collected, to make a final total in terms of pork. The calculations, so far as they can be checked, are all accurate. Two features of the document remain unexplained. In nearly every entry *μοσχ(είου)* or *χοιρ(είου)* is followed either by a numeral, varying roughly according to the final figure, and proportionately higher in the pork entries than in those for beef, or by a word probably to be read and expanded as *ἐκγί(νεται)*; both this and the numerals are in many cases evidently added later, but apparently by the same hand, either above the line or in a space left for the purpose. For the figures it might be suggested (1) that they represent numbers of beasts; the higher numbers in the pork entries being accounted for by the fact that the pig is smaller than the ox; but the weights cannot represent whole carcasses; (2) that they represent days, cf. 1545; (3) that there might be a theoretical *annonia* of standard quantity, and that the first figure might represent the units due, the second the actual weight collected. But if so, there are very great discrepancies in the standard, and why should the weights of pork collected be so much below it? *ἐγκί(νεται)?* also is obscure. It is generally accompanied by a note, usually marginal but twice inserted in the text, which looks like the figure ιζ (the ι is twice replaced by another sign); but if so, the hand in which these, and presumably the other marginal comments, are made is different from the original, since the ζ of the latter has a different form. Other subsequently added (generally marginal) marks are equally obscure; a sign ρ twice pre-

¹ The edict of Diocletian *De pretiis rerum venalium* (§ 4, 8a) made beef two-thirds the price of pork.

cedes a figure which subtracted from the final figure produces a round sum; it may thus represent an excess (cf. 2129, 35); another sign Λ' may similarly represent a deficit, since it precedes figures which in most cases produce round sums when added to the final sum. Other symbols or abbreviations are found whose meanings or expansions are doubtful or unknown.

Written along the fibres; on the verso, 2421.

i

1 *Νεοσμείμ[ε]ως μοσχ(είου) ε'* (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. κ' 2 *Λ'κα' χοιρ(είου) . . .* (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. μθ 3 *γ(ίν.) μ[οσχ(είου)]* (τάλ.) λγ μ(να)ι. με' 4 *χο[ιρ(είου)]* (τάλ.) κα μ(να)ι. κζ'. 5 *Λιβός τοπαρχ(ίας)*. 6 / *Σερύφωως μοσχ(είου) 'β'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ 7 *χοιρ(είου) η'* (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. μζ' 8 / *ΙΖ Πανεύει μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. κ 9 / *Σύρων μοσχ(είου) β'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. [] 10 *χοιρ(είου) [.]* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. [λθ] 11 *Σενοκάμωως μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) β' 12 *χοιρ(είου) ι'* (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. λζ' 13 / *ΙΖ Λεγκί[ου] μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) ζ μ(να)ι. [..] 14 *Λ'κδ' Κερκεθύρεως μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ις 15 / *ΥΖ χοιρ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) β' 16 / *ΙΖ Παξιμωως χοιρ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* (τάλ.) α' 17 / *ΙΖ 'Ηρακλειδ(ου) ἐποικ(ίου) μοσχ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* μ(να)ι. κγ 18 / *ΙΖ χοιρ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?) μν(αι.) λ'* 19 / *Πέλα μοσχ(είου) α' μν(αι.) ν'* 20 *χοιρ(είου) ιζ'* (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. σ' 21 / *ΙΖ Σεναῶ μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* μ(να)ι. νβ' 22 *Υ α' Μουχινάξιαπ (Μουχινάξιαπ?) χοιρ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. ιθ'* 23 *γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ιζ' μ(να)ι. δ'* 24 *χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ις μ(να)ι. νη'*

ii

25 *Ἀπλιώ(του) το(παρχίας)*. 26 / *Τερύφωως χοιρ(είου) . . .* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λς' 27 / *ΙΖ Ἀδαίου μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. σ' 28 / *Λ'ις' Φθώχωως μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. νδ'* 29 / *Σαπίρου μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. μ'* 30 / *Λ'κς' Θμίονειψάβθ(εως) μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. κδ'* 31 *χοιρ(είου) δ'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λ 32 / *Πακερκή μοσχ(είου) 'ά'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ' 33 *χοιρ(είου) . . .* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ιε' 34 / *Ψώβθωως [μοσχ(είου)] (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. σ'* 35 *χοιρ(είου) [.]* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. η 36 / *Τααμπεμοῦ μοσχ(είου) ' . . .* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. μ' 37 *χοιρ(είου) ιβ* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. ιζ' 38 / *Πισομποῦς μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. με'* 39 / *Φοβώου μοσχ(είου) δ* (τάλ.) γ 40 *χοιρ(είου) δ'* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ις' 41 / *ΥΖ 'Ωφωως χοιρ(είου) 'ἐκγί(ν.?)'* (τάλ.) β' 42 / *Σαραπίου(νος) Χαυρή(μονος) μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. νε'* 43 *Λ'ις' χοιρ(είου) β' μν(αι.) λα'* 44 *γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) τάλ. ις μ(να)ι. δ'* 45 *χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ια μ(να)ι. μγ'* 46 / *Μέσης το(παρχίας) . . . 'Ιέμη (Ἰέμη) χοιρ(είου) 'έ' μ(να)ι. νθ* 47 / *Νόμου ἐποικ(ίου) μοσχ(είου) 'β'* (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. ν' 48 *χοιρ(είου) η'* (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. σ' 49 / *ΙΖ Πέτη μοσχ(είου) ἐκγί(ν.?)* (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. νβ'

iii

50 | *Ιστορο[υ] (Ιστρ.) μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. με' 51 χοιρ(είου) ε' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. ις'
 52 | Τανάξωφ μοσχ(είου) 'ά' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. μ' 53 χοιρ(είου) θ' (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. γ'
 54 | Τααμπιτῆ μοσχ(είου) 'έ' (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. λ' 55 χοιρ(είου) η' (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. κη'
 56 | ^{κα'} _{επ...} Κερκεύρω μοσχ(είου) 'ά' (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. λε' 57 | ÷ 4 . 5. | Μαστιγγοφόρο(ου)
 (Μαστιγγ'οφορ()) χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. κζ' 58 | ÷ 4 . η. | Πισενώ χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. ιζ'
 59 | ... | Ψώβθεωφ [χ]οιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. λ' 60 | Σεντώ χοιρ(είου) '4Ζ' μ(να)ι. κζ'
 61 | (ὕπερ?)... ε' | Πετενούρεφ [χ]οιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. ε' 62 | Άρταπάτου [χ]οιρ(είου) 'β''
 μ(να)ι. κά 63 | (ὕπερ?)... Σενο[π]ώβ[εω]φ [χ]οιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. κθ' 64 | ΙΖ Τεξεῖ χοι-
 ρ(είου) [έ]κγί(ν.) μ(να)ι. ιγ' 65 | Πλελώ χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.) μ(να)ι. ιε' 66 | ΙΖ Τόκα
 μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.) μ(να)ι. μδ 67 | ΙΖ τὸ Ἡρακλείον μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.) (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι.
 κα' 68 ^{(ὕπερ?) ἡμ(έρας?)}
 λ' _{γί(ν.) ις} Τακοκκελεωφ χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. μς' 69 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου)
 (τάλ.) ιγ μ(να)ι. ιζ' 70 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ιβ μ(να)ι. μβς' 71 Θμοισεφά τοπαρχίας· 72 /
 Τήεωφ μοσχ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) γ μ(να)ι. ν' 73 χοιρ(είου) ιδ' (τάλ.) δ μ(να)ι. κζ'

iv

74 | ΙΖ Παώμειωφ μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν?) (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. λβ' 75 χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.) ΙΖ
 (τάλ.) β' 76 ΙΖ Θώλθεωφ μοσχ(είου) έκγί(ν.) μ(να)ι. κδ 77 [χ]οιρ(είου) ..λη μ(να)ι. ςς'
 78 | Σεφά μοσχ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. ν' 79 ΙΖ Κεσμούχεωφ μοσχ(είου) 'έκγί(ν.)' μ(να)ι. μβ'
 80 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ζ μ(να)ι. ιη' 81 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ς μ(να)ι. λγς' 82 Κάτω
 τοπαρχίας· 83 | ΙΖ Ταλαώ χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.) (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. λε' 84 | Θώλθεωφ μο-
 σχ(είου) 'β' (τάλ.) α' μ(να)ι. λ' 85 χοιρ(είου) α' μ(να)ι. θ 86 | Μουχινταλή χοιρ(είου) 'γ'
 μ(να)ι. νζ' 87 | Τυχυφάγων μοσχ(είου) 'ά' μ(να)ι. ν' 88 χοιρ(είου) γ' μ(να)ι. να'
 89 | _{Λ' κ' γ'} Ψώβθεωφ χοιρ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) α μ(να)ι. ιε' 90 | Σέσφ[θ]α μοσχ(είου) β'
 (τάλ.) β' μ(να)ι. ιη' 91 [χ]οιρ(είου) ζ' (τάλ.) γ' 92 | Σνωφά χοιρ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) α'
 93 | _{αμβ'} Δω[σιθ]έου μοσχ(είου) δ' (τάλ.) δ' μ(να)ι. νβ' 94 | ΙΖ? [χ]οιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.)?
 ... μ(να)ι. λη' 95 | Τ[ακόνα] χοιρ(είου) η' (τάλ.) γ' μ(να)ι. λγ'

v

96 ^{(ὕπερ?) ἡμ(έρας?)}
^(ὕπερ?)... θ' λγ Σούεωφ χοιρ(είου) μ(να)ι. νβ' 97 *Ιβιώνος (Ιβ.) Άμμωνίου
 98 χοιρ(είου) έκγί(ν.) 4Ζ (τάλ.) β μ(να)ι. ε' 99 γ(ίν.) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) θ' μ(να)ι. λ'
 100 χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ιε' μ(να)ι. νες' 101 (ἐπι τὸ αὐτό?) μοσχ(είου) (τάλ.) ςς μ(να)ι. νη'
 ἀντὶ 102 χοιρ(είου) (ταλ.) ξδ' μ(να)ι. λθ' 103 χοιρ(είου) ὁμοί(ως) (τάλ.) πε μ(να)ι. ιθς'

104 γ(ίν.) ὁμο' ὕ' χοιρ(είου) (τάλ.) ρμβ [μ(να)ι.] ιης' 105 ζ (έτους) καὶ ς (έτους) Χοιάκ κ' κα'
 106 χειρογραφία Χοιάκ κγ'.

μόσχεια κρέα occurs in PSI 862, 8 (from the Zeno archive); χοίρειον in P. Fouad Crawford. xv; PSI 820, 25; 28 (both 4th cent.); and Tait and Fréaux, *Ostraca*, nos. 2084 seqq. With the spelling Μουχινάξωφ in 22, cf. PSI 739, 6 (2nd cent.).

2423. 36.5 × 21.5 cm. Second to third century. Recto written along, verso across the fibres; the quality of the papyrus is poor. Private accounts from Choiach 1st to 24th; headed on the recto 'account of receipts and expenditures', but the latter only are recorded. (Cf. P. Groning. 11 (second century); 2026 (sixth century), and editors' note there; P. Princet. 96, 31; 78; 80 seq. (sixth century) and intro. to the latter.) The total of each day's expenditures is given beneath; several columns have the sum of these totals added at the foot. Col. i of the verso begins with supplementary items for days previously recorded. The sums are often inaccurate. The first two columns of the recto are here given in full.

Recto i

1 λό(γος) λημ(μάτων) κ(αι) ἀναλ(ωμάτων) 2 τῶν ἀπὸ Χ[οι]ρ[ί]χ] ἄ· 3 κρέωφ (δρ.) α (ὀβ.)
 4 σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) 5 ὠνῶν (ὀβ.) 6 κναμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) 7 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 8 διατ(αγῆφ)
 (δρ.) α 9 (δρ.) γ (ἡμωβ.) 10 β. κοιωῦ λόγ(ου) (δρ.) ι (τετρώβ.) 11 σελιγ(νίων) (δρ.) β
 (δυόβ.) 12 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 13 διαταγ(ῆφ) (δρ.) α 14 (δρ.) α [ι. . .] 15 γ διατ(αγῆφ) (δρ.) α
 16 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 17 (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) 18 δ κρέωφ (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) 19 σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.)
 20 κλ. ω (δυόβ.) 21 κναμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) 22 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 23 διαταγ(ῆφ) (δρ.) α 24 λίων
 (ὀβ.) 25 (δρ.) γ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) 26 ε χάρτου (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) 27 κρέωφ (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) 28 κα
 (τετρώβ.)

ii

1 σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) 2 να[π]ί(ων) (ὀβ.) 3 κναμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) 4 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 5 δια-
 ταγῆφ (δρ.) α 6 (δρ.) δ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) 7 [.....] (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) 8 [.....]. [..]. (δυόβ.)
 9 σελιγ(νίων) (δυόβ.) 10 [..]. κα (ὀβ.) 11 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 12 κναμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) 13 δ[ια]-
 τ(αγῆφ) (δρ.) α 14 [(δρ.)] γ (ὀβ.) (ἡμωβ.) 15 ζ διαταγ(ῆφ) [(δρ.)] α 16 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.)
 17 (δρ.) α (δυόβ.) 18 σπ. ι() (δυόβ.) 19 διατ(αγῆφ) (δρ.) α 20 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 21 (δρ.) α
 (τετρώβ.) 22 θ σελιγ(νίων) (δρ.) α (ὀβ.) 23 κολοκύν(θηφ) (δυόβ.) 24 θρίαα (ὀβ.) 25 ραφα-
 νί(δων) (ὀβ.) 26 φακίων (δυόβ.) 27 κναμί(ων) (ἡμωβ.) 28 *Οασίτη (δυόβ.) 29 διατ(αγῆφ)
 (δρ.) α 30 ζ. . ς

The recurring item *Οασίτη presumably refers to a workman or merchant from the Oasis.

Other items of expenditure which occur in the remaining columns are: σεῖτλου (or ξεῖτλου), rt. iii 6, etc.; πλακοῖ(ντων), iii 8, etc.; ἀρνύμ(ατος) iii 9, etc.; βατ(αλλης) (cf. P. RyI. 630, 387) (1 ob.), iv 15; φοῦ (1½ ob.), iv 19, etc.; περιστερι(δίου), v 10, etc.; καπηλίου (2 ob.), v 17; σταφυλ(ῆφ), v 21; μήλων, v 23;

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φασηλων, vi 14, etc.; βολλα(λων? for βολλαριων?), vi 17, etc.; περικ(ων), vi 20, etc.; καυλιαν, vi 21, etc.; λοιπαδος, vi 24; ψωμι(ου), vs. i 3, etc.; οψους, ii 2, etc.; σκευους κναμι(ων), ii 14, etc.; λαχανων, iii 8, etc.; κεφαλωτοδ (i dr. i ob.) (cf. BGU 1120, 16; P. Mich. 494, 14), iii 9; δλος, iii 10; ελλαπεν() (=ελλαπης? This occurs in BGU 1080, 10 (3rd cent.)) 48 dr., by far the largest single item of expenditure here, iii 13; μαγιστρων (3 dr. 3 ob.), iii 15; κρεως αριστου (4 dr. 4 ob.), iii 15; σελιγ(νιων) αριστου (1 dr.), iii 18; αθηρας, iii 19; ιεροδ (4 ob.), iii 20; ελαιου Σιρη(τικου) (cf. 1070, 29), iii 21, etc.; ελαιου (1. Αμμωνι(ακου), iii 22, etc.; πιπερεως, iii 23, etc.; μελιτος, iii 24; σταφιδ(ος), iii 25, etc.; αμουλλου (1. αμυλου), iv 25; πισου, v 4; εφηματος (1. εφημ.), v 8. Besides some entries too mutilated to be read, the following words of doubtful expansion or meaning occur: ωριπρατου (½ ob.), rt. iii 17; σελλιον (2 ob.), rt. v 12; hardly 'stools', since the price is so low; περδ() (περδικος? But in rt. v 22 the price, 4 ob., is very low; in vs. iv 19, 2 dr. 1 chalk.); προβημ(), rt. vi 22. Payments to individuals: Serenus, vs. i 13, 15; Dionysius, ibid. 14, 17; Theon, for wheat, ibid. 16, 19; Sarapa(s?), ibid. 21.

2424. 26 × 39 cm. Recto: list of articles, second to third century; written along the fibres; three separate hands can be distinguished, of which the first is large and semi-literary, the second smaller and with a steep backward slope, and the third sloping slightly forward. The list is followed, on the same side, by a much damaged tachygraphic text, evidently similar to that on the verso, which is in even worse condition.

i

1 [.....]. [2 [...]. [.] . [.] . [3 θιβις αρτ[ων 4 Μαρκ[ι]ας κεραμα γλυκ(οελαιου?)
 θ 5 και Κορυμβάδος β 6 Σερήνου γλ[υ]κρο[ε]λ(αιον) α 7 Αφροδισίου α 8 και ομοίως
 Κορυμβ[α]δ(ος) α 9 δισάκκια α[ρ]το(υ) ζυ[] κε 10 λαγαρί(ου) ζ[.] .ο. ιγ 11 και
 αρτ[.] . [12 χοινικαίους (1. χοινικαίους) — 13 σφ[υ]ρις φουνίκων [ν] . 14 ξύλα. [.....]. []
 15 ορνιθοτρόφην (-φιον, 'hen-coop?') . φ[] 16 [δ]εσμοί ξύλων . . μ[] 17 στάμνοι δ
 18 κρέων κλούιον αγ[] 19 [.] αμ. ιε και υγίας 20 [.....]. της β — (this and the
 previous line are perhaps one entry) 21 [προσ]κεφάλων (1. -αιον) υποσφυριδ(ον)?
 22 [.....]. [.] . ιε [23 [.....]. [.] . οφ υπο αρτ[] 24 [(12 ll.)]. ου[] 25 [(13 ll.)] χ[]

ii

26 [κα]ι [κερά]μμα κύθρον α β 27 [κα]ι [σ]φ[υ]ρις φουνίκων (1. -ιον) α 28 και σφυρις φουνίκων
 Μαρ(εωτικων) α 29 και βαυκάλια δ 30 (2nd h.) λό[γ]ος σ[κευων] 31 θιβις αρτων α, εν
 η τα λγ 32 σφυρις αρτων, εν η τυροι κ και αρ(οι) κ 33 σφυριδ(ον) φουν(ικων)
 Μαρ(εωτικων) α 34 δισάκκια α 35 [κ]ε[λ]λάριον α 36 τύλη (blanik; α presumably omitted)
 37 σ[κ]ικος ιματιων α 38 προσκεφάλων (1. -αιον) α 39 κερβικαρι[ο]ν α 40 αβόλ[λ]ηης α
 41 ξύτρα[ι] β 42 σχιδakes δ 43 (3rd h.) χειδων (1. χιτων) α 44 αμματος ('of cord?').
 σφυριδ(ον) α 45 στάμνοι β 46 άγγειδια ελα[ι]ου β.

2425. Private account, on the verso of 2415, upside down in relation to it. Written in a coarse hand, apparently at different times, across the fibres. Third to fourth century. Remains of four columns; only the ends of lines of col. i are left;

col. iv, consisting of three lines, ends the document. The entries, which are dated, cover a period of about a month and a half; the majority consist of the words εις την οικίαν. Col. ii, ll. 16–22, read: 16 τω διδασκάλω κβ 17 τη γραφία (1. -σα) κα 18 Αθηνοδωρ(ω) κα 19 ομοίως Αθηνοδωρ(ω) κα 20 Διογένι (1. -ει) ο. σιακυμητη (evidently different from iii 19 Διογένι τω ορηλάτη(?)) 21 εζ εις την οικίαν κα 22 ιη εις την οικίαν κα. The only other items of interest are: εις το λαγν() (= λάγν(ον) or (-ιον)? κβ in ii 3 (κα, iii 15); and τοις κομάρησι in iii 9, probably 'provisions', rather than 'furlough', the sense which the word bears in 1666, 14; P. Giss. 41, 4; P. Mich. 466, 39.

INDEXES

(The figures 23 are to be supplied before 83-99, 24 before 00-25; figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman figures to columns; an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture; a reference enclosed in round brackets indicates an interlinear comment.)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(a) ALCMAN, CALLIMACHUS, ETC. 2387-98

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V. MONTHS AND DAYS

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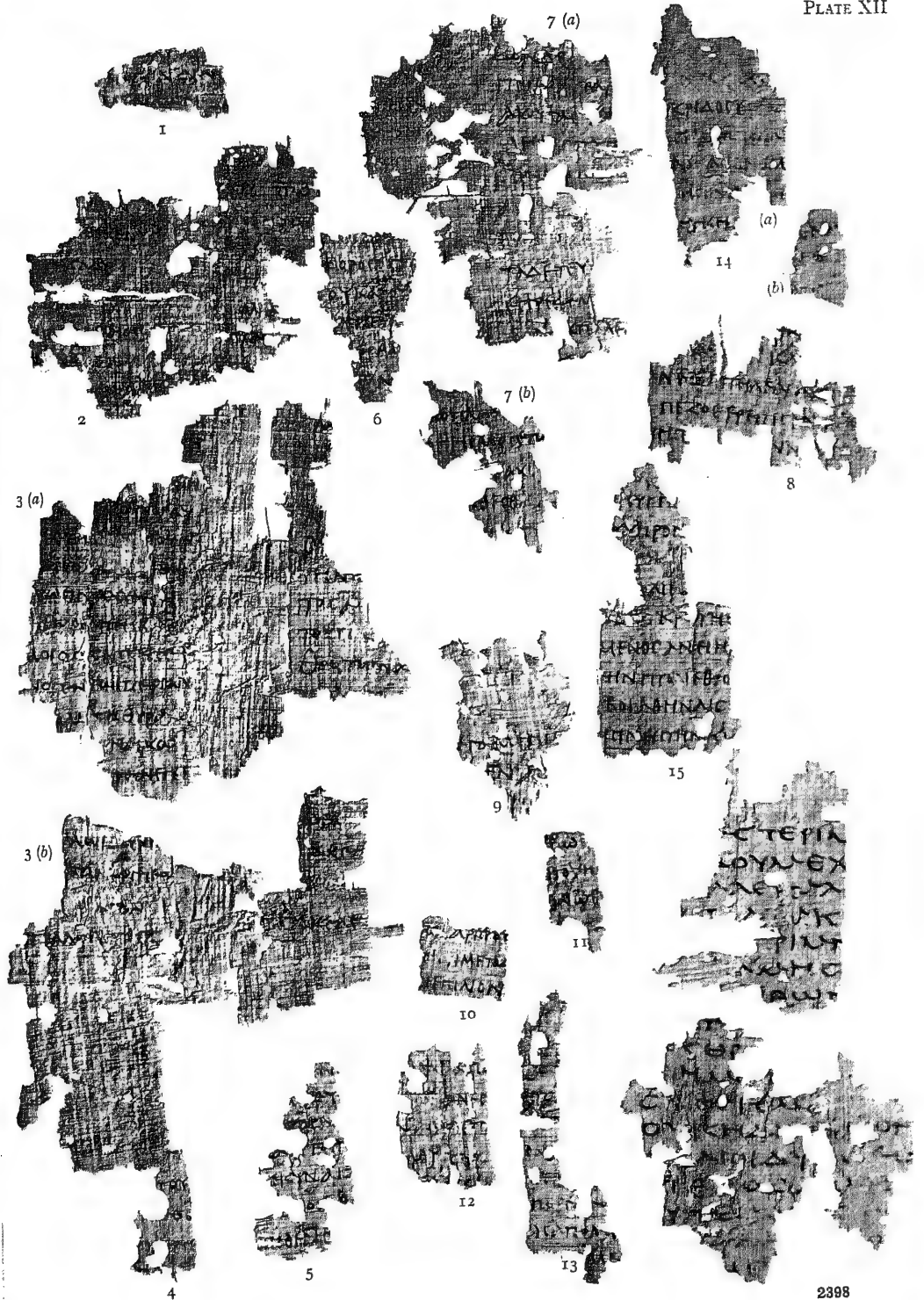
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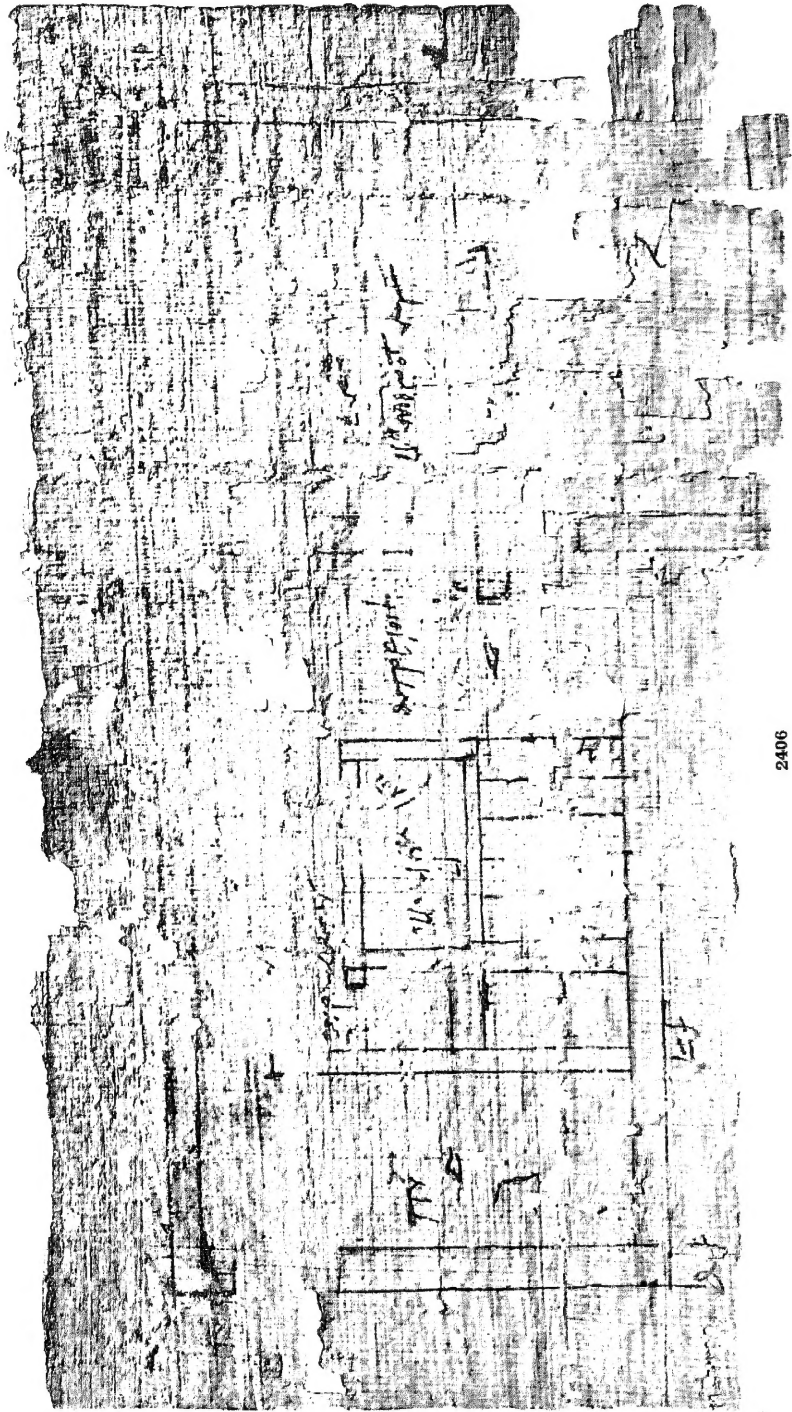
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